The Apostate's Wake:

Cultures of Irish Catholicism in James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*

Royal Holloway, University of London

October 2012

Thesis submitted by Christine Van Mierlo

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy.

Abstract

This project takes a new approach to the treatment of Catholicism in *Finnegans Wake*, by looking beyond established theological and philosophical readings in order to focus on the intricacies of Joyce's engagement with Irish Catholic culture, c. 1850-1939. This period accounts for the years of Cardinal Cullen's 'devotional revolution' in Ireland, for the formation of the deeply conservative and Rome-centred religious culture into which Joyce was born, and for the emergence of a new Irish Catholic state following the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921. As my title suggests, this thesis highlights Joyce's critique of the Church. Adopting a historicist methodology, and drawing upon extensive archival research, I consider how Joyce's sources—both textual and cultural—are transformed through his revolutionary aesthetic into a radical dismantling of Irish Catholic society.

Topics considered include the following: the role of the artist-intellectual in the 'new' Ireland, as shown through the portrait of Shem the Penman; the nature and reach of Joyce's devastating anticlerical satire of Shaun; the difficulties faced by unmarried Irish Catholic girls, as embodied by Issy, and the impact of ALP's concerted attack on the material culture of Irish Catholicism, an act that is performed in defence of her husband. The final section of this thesis turns to the historical complexities of Book IV. It attempts to articulate how ALP's closing monologue can be understood against the backdrop of a new dawn of conservative Irish Catholicism, and in relation to the decline of the Anglicized patriarch HCE.

Abbreviations and Conventions

The following abbreviations of standard texts are included parenthetically:

CE	+ entry title. *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907-12). Citations in this project are taken from the digital edition that is available at <www.newadvent.org/cathen>.
CW	+ page number. James Joyce, *Critical Writings*, ed. by Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989).
D	+ page number. James Joyce, *Dubliners* (London: Penguin, 1956).
JJ	+ page number. Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).
FW	Ordinarily referred to by page and line number alone. James Joyce, *Finnegans Wake* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975).
JJA	+ volume and page number. James Joyce, *The James Joyce Archive*, ed. by Michael Groden *et al* (New York: Garland, 1977-9).

L I	+ page number. James Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce: Volume I*, ed. by Stuart Gilbert (New York: Viking, 1957).
L II, III	+ page number. James Joyce, *Letters of James Joyce: Volumes II & III*, ed. by Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking, 1966).
OED	+ entry title. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
P	+ page number. James Joyce, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (New York: Viking, 1964).
SL	+ page number. James Joyce, *Selected Letters of James Joyce*, ed. by Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking; London: Faber and Faber, 1975).
U	+ chapter and line number. James Joyce, *Ulysses*, ed. by Hans Walter Gabler *et al* (New York: Garland, 1984).
SH	+ page number. James Joyce, *Stephen Hero*, ed. by Theodore Spencer *et al* (New York: New Directions, 1963).
VI.B	+ notebook and page number. Refers to the *Finnegans Wake* notebooks held by the State University of New York at Buffalo.

N.B. References to draft manuscripts and typescripts are referred to by both their location in the *JJA*, and their standard accession number. Unless otherwise stated, all accession numbers relate to the cataloguing system at the British Library.

All Biblical references are to the King James unless otherwise stated.

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

'Nothing would be worth plowing

through this, except the Divine Vision –

and I gather it's not that sort of thing'

(Letter from Ezra Pound regarding the 'Work

in Progress', dated 15 November, 1926)

Introduction

The Apostate's Wake

The view expressed by Pound in the above quotation is, perhaps, a little flippant. Yet, to my mind, it is accurate enough. Given Joyce's predominant concern with human rather than spiritual dramas in his last work—an observation that is also made by Clive Hart when he notes that in *Finnegans Wake* 'Joyce keeps his feet firmly on the earth most of the time'—it hardly makes sense to read the work as a quest for spiritual clarity.[1] Nevertheless, many grandiose claims have been made for the divine nature of the work. Strothter B. Purdy has argued that, despite the book's often confrontational attitude towards religious hierarchies, the *Wake* functions as an act of worship of sorts, *ad majorem dei gloriam*.[2] For Albert Montesi, the book represents nothing less than a new religion, and he states that 'Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* attempts to restructure the world, reinvent religion, and recreate God'.[3] These

[1] Clive Hart, *Structure and Motif in 'Finnegans Wake'* (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1962), p. 111.
[2] See Strother B. Purdy, 'Is There a Multiverse in *Finnegans Wake* and Does That Make it a Religious Book?', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 36.3 (Spring 1999), 587-602 (587).
[3] Albert Montesi, 'Joyce's Blue Guitar: Wallace Stevens and *Finnegans Wake*', in *'Finnegans Wake': A Casebook*, ed. by John Harty III (New York: Garland, 1991), pp. 99-111 (p. 107).

readings are hyperbolic to say the least. As I set out to illustrate below, interpretations that understand the *Wake* as an attempt to carve out a new kind of faith, and vision of God, are not borne out by the text. In my view, as in Pound's, anyone approaching the work in search of a divine revelation is bound to be disappointed.

Be this as it may, there is one aspect of Joyce's attitude towards the otherworldly in the *Wake* that is troublesome for anyone attempting to understand the author's sensibilities, and that is the question of his belief in any sort of deity, spiritual realm or afterlife. The question of Joyce's theism, or lack thereof, has often left critics perplexed. Joyce's famous description of 'the artist, like the God of the creation […] behind or beyond or above his handiwork, invisible, refined out of existence, indifferent, paring his fingernails' (*P*, 215) perhaps hints at an irreverent brand of theism, albeit expressed by the juvenile and fictional Stephen, rather than Joyce himself. More direct are Joyce's oft-cited comments in a letter to Lady Gregory in 1902, where the young artist appears to express his belief in the existence of man's immortal soul:

> All things are inconstant except the faith in the soul, which changes all things and fills their inconstancy with light, but though I seem to be driven out of my country as a misbeliever I have found no man yet with a faith like mine. (*L* I, 53)

Here, the cocksure youth is able to both confidently assert his belief in the soul, whatever may be meant by this, and to point out the remarkably firm quality of his own nature to one of the pillars of the Irish literary establishment. But whether these remarks add up to the conclusion that the mature Joyce was in fact theistic, or in any way spiritually inclined, is a question that is probably destined to remain unresolved. Self-defining statements like the one addressed to Lady Gregory become increasingly rare

in the later years, and, as we shall see, Joyce's mature prose fiction avoids plain statements of intent by its very nature. Ultimately, we may have to accept that this is one aspect of Joyce's personal philosophy that is destined to remain in the realm of the private.

There is, then, some ambiguity over the question of Joyce's possible belief in God, and of whether he possessed any private, lingering religious sentiments, Christian or otherwise. Yet many other aspects of Joyce's attitude towards religion are abundantly clear in his life and work. As I set out to demonstrate throughout this thesis, nowhere is this more pronounced than in terms of Joyce's attitude towards the faith that he was born into, a faith that might have held its seat of power in Rome, but one that infiltrated Irish society at every level.

A debate exists over the exact time at which Joyce definitively abandoned Catholicism, a topic I explore in further detail in the Critical Survey. But abandon it he did, an act that he explained to Nora in the following terms in the summer of 1904:

> Six years ago I left the Catholic Church, hating it most fervently. I found it impossible for me to remain in it on account of the impulses of my nature. I made secret war upon it when I was a student and declined to accept the positions it offered me. By doing this I made myself a beggar but I retained my pride. Now I make open war upon it by what I write and say and do. (*L* II, 48)

Despite numerous insinuations to the contrary, there is no evidence at all that Joyce ever returned to the Church, or indeed that he went on to practice any other mode of Christianity or organised religion in his mature years. This fact of the biography was forcefully reiterated by Stanislaus in 1958 when he protested that,

> It has become a fashion [...] to represent [Joyce] as a man pining for the ancient Church he had abandoned, and at a loss for moral support without the religion in which he was bred. Nothing could be further from the truth.[4]

This view was canonised by Richard Ellmann in his still influential biography, and has recently been consolidated by Geert Lernout with reference to a wealth of evidence, both biographical and literary. Given the fact that Lernout has dealt so thoroughly with the topic of Joyce's unbelief in Catholicism throughout his adult life, it is not necessary to reiterate all of the details of this argument here.[5] Suffice to say at this juncture that I believe that Lernout's assertions are in the main correct, and that a firm acknowledgement of Joyce's apostasy can enhance significantly a fresh reading of the *Wake*.

As the biographical and literary evidence described by Lernout reveals, Joyce was not a follower of religion in any conventional sense. A further problem of definition and vocabulary then naturally emerges in terms of understanding exactly what he *was*. In both Lernout's work, and a second recent study by Roy Gottfried, Joyce's attitude towards religion is frequently understood in terms of what it negates, and is described as the practice of 'unbelief' and 'misbelief' respectively. For Gottfried, this appears to mean that Joyce is 'one who engages the issues and tenets, the figures and forms of dogma, from a distance, a place that is off, separated',[6] a description that in many respects echoes the role usually attributed to the apostate (Gottfried often employs terms such as 'apostate', 'heretic', and 'schismatic' without distinction). However, the logic of Gottfried's argument does slip somewhat throughout his book, a problem that I return to in the Critical Survey.

---

[4] Stanislaus Joyce, *My Brother's Keeper* (New York: Viking, 1958), p. 130.

[5] See Geert Lernout, *Help My Unbelief: James Joyce and Religion* (London: Continuum, 2010), *passim.*

[6] Roy Gottfried, *Joyce's Misbelief* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008), p. 4.

One of the most common labels attached to Joyce with regards to his approach to religious questions is that of heretic.[7] Yet this term also, at least as it is understood by the Church itself and by most Church historians, does not quite do him justice. A standard dictionary definition of a heretic is 'one who maintains theological or religious opinions at variance with the 'catholic' or orthodox doctrine of the Christian Church', a term that can be extended to apply to other religions or systems of thought (*OED*, 'Heretic'). However, the *Catholic Encyclopedia* emphasises the fact that heretics are Christians rather than unbelievers, stating plainly that, while thinkers of this kind articulate positions that break with orthodoxy, 'the heretic always retains faith in Christ' (*CE*, 'Heresy').

Any claim that Joyce was a man completely opposed to Christian, theological systems of thought can never be definitively proven. However, several factors distance Joyce from the majority of the parade of heretics that populate the pages of Church history. In most instances, those castigated as heretics by the Catholic Church do not seek to occupy a heretical position, but are rather committed Christian thinkers, grappling with the intricacies of their faith, who happen to arrive at the 'wrong' conclusion based on scripture, rational reasoning, or other kinds of personal insight. Furthermore, some heretical theologies do not, in the grand scheme of things, differ enormously from that which has been sanctioned as orthodoxy, but rather represent a modification of one particular aspect of the faith, while not necessarily seeking to undermine the whole.

The notion of Joyce as a committed Christian thinker, cast out by the main body of the Church because his theological insights led him to approach Christianity in a manner deemed unacceptable, does not sit easily with Joyce's mature life and work. This life was marked by a broad aversion to, and

[7] This view is epitomised by Valentine Cunningham when he lists Joyce as one of the great heretics in English Literature, and goes on to describe him as 'in effect a modern Protestant', a description that, as I argue at various points below, is wildly misleading [see his 'Introduction: The Necessity of Heresy', in *Figures of Heresy: Radical Theology in English and American Writing, 1800-2000*, ed. by Andrew Dix and Jonathan Taylor (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2006), pp. 1-20 (pp. 14-15)]. There are many other examples of this tag being applied to Joyce.

scepticism of, any finite or dogmatic system of thought, and appears to have lacked much sustained, spiritual reflection, at least in the public realm. Moreover, in contrast to the Church's ancient heretical theologians, rather than following a chain of reasoning through to its logical end, only to arrive at a position that would be sooner or later deemed heretical, the mature Joyce who wrote the *Wake* appears to actively seek out rebellious ideas that have already been condemned by the Church, and to revel in their disruptive powers on both a literary and philosophical plane, an idea that has also been briefly considered by Gottfried when he speaks of Joyce's 'wilful adoption' of schismatic positions.[8]

The idea of the heretic as someone operating from within the ranks of the faithful is, furthermore, key to the way in which Joyce imagines such a role in *A Portrait*. As Stephen recalls an exchange with Emma, in which she accuses him of being a heretic, the following reverie is sparked:

> A monk! His own image started forth a profaner of the cloister, a heretic franciscan, willing and willing not to serve, spinning like Gherardino da Borgo San Donnino, a lithe web of sophistry and whispering in her ear. No, it was not his image. (*P*, 219-220)

The 'profaner of the cloister' named here was a radical Franciscan monk, and a disciple of an infamous '*post hoc*' heretic that Joyce was certainly also aware of, Abbot Joachim of Flora, a figure who is recalled in the 'Proteus' episode of *Ulysses* when Stephen acknowledges that beauty is not to be found in 'the stagnant bay of Marsh's library where [he] read the fading prophecies of Joachim Abbas' (*U*, 3.7-8).[9] Despite the slippery syntax of the passage in *A Portrait*, it is clear that this image of the heretic

[8] Gottfried, p. 6.

[9] Joachim's biography, such as it is known, illustrates beautifully the manner in which such a thinker could live both within and without the established Church. According to surviving records, Joachim lived until his death as a monk, and was widely regarded for his holiness. As Dale T. Irvin and Scott W. Sunquist note, his controversial approach to the nature of the Trinity was only officially condemned after his death, at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and many of his other teachings were left unaffected. See Irvin and Sunquist, *History of the World Christian Movement, Volume 1: Earliest Christianity to 1453* (New York: Orbis; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2001), p. 420.

is not one that Stephen can easily identify with. San Donnino's double standards, illustrated by the fact that he is willing to both serve and not serve—a hypocrisy that in Stephen's mind is bound up with the image of a young priest that he witnessed flirting with the object of his affections—constitutes a direct contradiction of Stephen's own philosophy of *Non Serviam* as he eventually comes to define it. As Stephen bluntly puts it in a passage that is otherwise awash with doubt and anguish, this is not his image. Of course, it would be a mistake to straightforwardly conflate Stephen with Joyce. Yet this depiction of the heretic as a figure operating *within* the cloister is very revealing in terms of Joyce's own perception of this role.

In questioning the definition of Joyce as a heretic, it must be acknowledged that when critics apply this tag they do not always have the Church's own definition of the term in mind, but rather a more general sense in which the word can be applied to any kind of rebel against orthodoxy—a description that does of course apply. Furthermore, in challenging the use of this term I do not wish to deny that fact that Joyce was fascinated by this history and mechanism of heresy, an idea that I return to below. Rather I wish to flag up the manner in which, as a descriptor of the author himself, this term may not quite be apt.

With these observations in mind, the term that I have chosen to foreground in this thesis with regards to Joyce's attitude towards religion is that of 'apostate'. This is a term that Bernard Benstock has astutely employed to describe Joyce's practice in the *Wake*,[10] but one that is often used more casually in criticism as simply a synonym for heretic. This is not by any means a perfect definition of Joyce's practice, indeed I doubt that such a term exists. It is a pejorative term applied by the Church to those who decide to leave it behind. However, a key difference between heresy and apostasy, and one

[10] See Bernard Benstock, 'The Final Apostasy: James Joyce and *Finnegans Wake*', *English Literary History*, 28.4 (1961), 417-37, *passim.*

that in some respects makes the latter term more applicable to Joyce, is the fact that apostasy constitutes an active choice to abandon one's faith, rather than to believe in it 'wrongly' as a heretic does.

The *Catholic Encyclopedia* describes this distinction as follows: 'the apostate *a fide* abandons wholly the faith of Christ either by embracing Judaism, Islamism, Paganism, or simply by falling into naturalism and complete neglect of religion' (*CE*, 'Heresy'). The claim that Joyce had completely abandoned all faith in Christ, an abandonment that is integral to the *Catholic Encyclopedia*'s definition of the apostate, is not one that can be proven either way. The notion of an apostate as one who 'throws over' his faith is, though, something that appears to be especially applicable to Joyce, a man who consciously decided to leave the Catholic Church behind. As the *OED* describes the term, in language that suits Joyce rather well, an apostate is 'one who abjures or forsakes his religious faith, or abandons his moral allegiance; a pervert' (*OED*, 'Apostate'). A further trait that often characterises apostatic literature is not only the abandonment of a faith, but the desire to return to the belief system that was previously held and critique it—a return that is of crucial importance in the *Wake*.

It is my view, then, that approaching the last work with an awareness of the critical distance that Joyce established between himself and the Catholic Church allows us to understand Joyce's rendering of the Church, and its effects, in a manner that is far more sensitive to the book's project than the straightforward designation of Joyce as a heretic might allow for. Such an approach need not minimise Joyce's intimate knowledge of the Catholic faith, nor his abiding interest in the operations of Catholicism in society, but might allow us to appreciate more fully the dynamics of Joyce's complex dismantling of the Church. Yet what is meant by 'the Church' in this context is itself problematic. This label incorporates questions of theology and doctrine, along with important aspects of social and

political history, and the lived experiences of believers, all of which feature in important ways in the *Wake*.

It would not be possible to cover all of this ground in a single study, and I have, therefore, made some necessary selections. In this thesis, I have chosen to focus on Joyce's approach to the social and cultural dynamics of the religious culture that he knew best, that of Catholic Ireland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The reasons for this decision are quite simple: Joyce frequently invokes very historically and culturally specific aspects of Catholic life, and has his characters approach this material in a myriad of fascinating and historically revealing ways. Yet this is an aspect of the *Wake* that has received extremely little close attention, as grander philosophical and/or theological questions have often taken centre stage. Of course, it is not possible to fully extricate theological questions from socio-cultural ones, and throughout this study there remains a certain degree of cross-over. This is something that I have allowed to be dictated by the nature of the work rather than my own sense of disciplinary boundaries.

It is almost impossible to define cultural and historical limits when it comes to such a spatially and temporally slippery work as the *Wake*. But it is also the case that Joyce does not treat all time and place equally, and his works from first to last are strongly infused with the world of Catholic Ireland as it existed around the turn of the last century and beyond, a religious culture that reflected a set of conservative Catholic values that had been on the ascent since the mid-point of the nineteenth century. With this in mind, throughout this study I have elected to work within a broad, but not unlimited, historical bracket, considering Joyce's approach to the culture of Catholicism in Ireland c. 1850-1939. Setting a limit of this kind necessarily excludes a detailed discussion of several religious themes. For example, medieval hagiography, an important subject for the *Wake*, is not discussed extensively in this

thesis (although the manner in which medieval saints are elevated by Irish Catholic writers during the period in question is considered in the final chapter). The history of Catholic Ireland in the eighteenth century is a further important, and understudied, aspect of the *Wake*, but one that I do not have the space to investigate here.

Yet I believe that the period that I have chosen to focus on is most apt as it accounts for the period in Irish Catholic history that Joyce knew best, either directly or indirectly, and that he returns to most frequently. Given the massive changes wrought in the Church by Vatican II Council (1962-5), a great deal of this culture is now largely unrecognisable to the contemporary reader, Catholic or not. Therefore, before embarking upon a close study of Joyce's attitudes as expressed in the *Wake*, it is first necessary to gain a broader understanding of the nature of the Church during the period in question, from the perspective of both its centre in Rome, and its periphery in Ireland.

Historical Overview

Following Hayden White, countless scholars have noted that the construction of any historical narrative is inevitably shaped by the perspective of its author. As Lernout has noted, Catholic Church history is, nevertheless, a particularly thorny area. Resources have, for a long time, been limited owing to the fact that the Vatican takes an exceedingly censorious approach to its own past. Furthermore, histories are often written from either a devotional perspective, or with an explicitly liberal and secular agenda in mind, and the middle ground is frequently excluded.[11]

Despite these difficulties, the history of the Church in this period has been charted from a relatively neutral and scholarly perspective by a handful of scholars. In the French-speaking world, the

[11] See Lernout, p. 29.

most thorough account is contained in the relevant volumes of the *Histoire du christianisme des origins a nos jours*, and from an Anglophone perspective in Nicholas Atkin and Frank Tallett's magisterial *Priests, Prelates & People: A History of European Catholicism since 1750.* To these should be added two valuable histories of the Papacy, Owen Chadwick's *History of the Popes, 1830-1914*, and Eamon Duffy's less strictly academic, but hugely informative, *Saints & Sinners: A History of the Popes.* A slightly outdated but nonetheless crucial work in terms of charting the history of the Church in this period is E.E.Y. Hales' *The Catholic Church in the Modern World: a Survey from the French Revolution to the Present*, first published in 1958.

Turning to the history of the Irish Catholic Church in the period in question, Emmet Larkin's ground-breaking series of seven book-length studies, each of which covers a distinct portion of the period 1750-1891 in a great deal of depth, is by far the most useful resource available. In terms of an overview of the history of the Church in Ireland at the turn of the last century, David W. Miller's *Church, State and Nation in Ireland, 1898-1921*, is also helpful. In order to research various individuals and topics in further detail, I have naturally also turned to relevant biographies and thematic studies where appropriate.

Precise accounts of the period in question are readily available in the sources listed above. Furthermore, a large portion of this information has been summarised from a Joycean perspective in Lernout's account, and therefore it would not be useful at this juncture to provide another lengthy history. However, for ease of reference, I will re-rehearse certain crucial events that constitute the historical backdrop to this project, and particularly flag up aspects of Church history that are especially relevant to a reading of the *Wake*. It is also worth noting that one aspect of Catholic Ireland's recent history, namely the relationship between Church and State during the decades immediately post-

Partition, receives relatively little attention in Lernout's account. As this is such an important context in terms of reading the *Wake*, and a moment in Irish history that Joyce reflects on at several points in the book, this is a context that I explore further both here and throughout this study.

The majority of the information for the following survey has been taken from the sources listed above. Naturally, many objective 'facts' of history relating to the period in question are repeated in several studies, rendering it unnecessary, and indeed impossible, to provide a single footnote or point of reference for every statement made. Every effort has, however, been made to ensure that any material that represents an original discovery or interpretation is appropriately acknowledged.

The Church in Rome

In the first decades of the nineteenth century the Church of Rome was becoming an increasingly conservative force, a consequence in large part of the threat that the French Revolution had posed, and a political shift that was embodied by the figure of Pope Gregory XVI: a man described by Hales as 'austere, recluse, and firm in his handling of revolution', and someone who forcefully denounced the new programmes of social and political reform tabled in France and Germany in the 1830s.[12] It must, however, have seemed that change was in the air when in 1846 Giovanni Maria Mastai-Ferretti was elected Pope Pius IX, a figure who was to become ubiquitously known as Pio Nono. At the time of his selection, Mastai-Ferretti was known for his liberal tendencies, something that is reflected in Duffy's appraisal of his character as 'an ardent and emotional man […] with a gift for friendship and a track-

[12] See E.E.Y. Hales, *Pio Nono: A Study in European Politics and Religion in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: P.J. Kenedy and Sons, 1954), p. 17.

record of generosity even towards anti-clericals and Carbonari'.[13] These were, furthermore, qualities that were celebrated by the Catholic population at large in the early days of his pontificate, a sense of jubilation that is communicated in Hales' description of the initial Italian enthusiasm for Pio Nono:

> He was said to be interested in railways and scientific improvements in agriculture. He was a progressive. He was no friend of the Austrians. He would take the lead in liberating Italy! Racing ahead of the facts, the Italian imagination was casting him for the role of Julius II; he would drive the Austrians from Milan and Venice, where they had ruled since 1815, he would redeem and unite Italy and himself be her first President! In vast crowds the Romans congregated, almost nightly in the piazza at the Quirinal, to receive, on their knees, his benediction; in Piedmont and Sicily, in Tuscany and Naples, his name was painted on the plaster walls, carried on banners in procession, invoked as patron of every enterprise. Viva Pio Nono![14]

But the image of the Liberal Pope was not destined to last. The power struggle between the Papal States and the flourishing Italian nation that had already gripped the peninsula for many years before the election of the new Pope began to place the Pontiff under increasing pressure, and in November 1848 he was forced to briefly flee Rome in the wake of a number of terrorist attacks perpetrated by Italian liberal nationalists. When Pio Nono eventually returned to Rome he did not resume residence in the Quirinal Palace, but ensconced himself in the Vatican. It is these events that appear to have altered the entire direction of his pontificate.

The decision for the Pontiff to retreat into a contained and well-defended zone was clearly a pragmatic one, as the Church simply did not have the military might that it would have required in order to go toe-to-toe with insurgent nationalist forces. However, the move to the Vatican also

---

[13] Eamon Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes*, 2nd ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 286.
[14] Hales, p. 18.

garnered symbolic importance. In this period, the Pope famously labelled himself 'The Prisoner of the Vatican' and, as the Papal States fell all around, the Church turned in on itself and its own traditions—a bid, it seems, to claim absolute spiritual authority as temporal power slipped from its grasp. No doubt this new agenda was also a consequence of Pio Nono's increasing distrust for the liberal political agenda that had led to his life being placed in danger.

Pio Nono's papacy was, from this point on, characterised by increasingly traditionalist and conservative steps. In 1854 this Marian Pope officially defined the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, a dogma that drew upon an ancient and apocryphal piety that had never been officially articulated. This declaration instigated a new wave of Mariology across the Catholic world that was to remain prominent up to, including, and beyond Joyce's own lifetime. Mariology is, furthermore, a topic that Joyce returns to throughout his *oeuvre*, and a phenomenon that is discussed in further detail in Chapter 3.

More aggressively conservative and anti-liberal was Pio Nono's infamous *Syllabus of Errors*. This lengthy document was appended to the 1864 encyclical *Quanta Cura*, and as Atkin and Tallett note, it was produced in great haste (according to these commentators the document was composed at a comparable speed to Stalin's construction of the first Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union).[15] As these historians point out, many of the articles in this eighty-point document are not particularly controversial, but simply restate the Church's established position on a number of core issues. Towards the end of the *Syllabus* the claims do, however, become more outlandish, and the later articles in the list concentrate on asserting the primacy of the Pope over national Church hierarchies, and on condemning such movements as Gallicanism, Materialism, Freemasonry, and Pantheism. As Atkin and

[15] See Nicholas Atkin and Frank Tallett, *Priests, Prelates and People: A History of European Catholicism since 1750* (London and New York: Tauris, 2003), p. 135.

Tallett also record, it is the final cluster of statements that are, nevertheless, the most shocking. In these declarations Pio Nono denies the religious freedoms of non-Catholics and forcefully states that the Papacy should refuse 'to reconcile itself to progress, liberalism and recent civilisation'. Put simply, the Church hierarchy ought to reject all that modernity has to offer.[16]

The *Syllabus* naturally provoked a great deal of scorn and derision outside of the Catholic world. But it also caused rifts to deepen within the Catholic hierarchy, which throughout the second half of the century consisted, as it often had, of both conservative and more liberal factions. One of the men at the head of the conservative faction was Cardinal Manning of Westminster, an individual who had been in large part responsible for the composition of the *Syllabus* in the first place. This figure was certainly on Joyce's radar, and is mockingly addressed in Chapter II.2 of the *Wake*—along with three other humorously deflated representatives of Church authority—as 'his enement curdinal marryng' (282.21). In this perhaps facile pun, the 'enemy' has become conflated with an 'enema', and there is an additional sense of something that is 'curdling' or 'going sour'. This is hardly a sophisticated critique, but it is evidence of Joyce's vitriolic approach to the arch-conservative figure nonetheless. One of many examples of the author's love of biographical tit-bits, the pun 'marryng' relates to the fact that Manning was a widower before taking Holy Orders.

Manning was not only an arch-conservative but a staunch believer in Papal autocracy, and it was this Ultramontane agenda that he endeavoured to push through at the First Vatican Council in 1870. The Council represented a defining moment in the history of the modern Church both because of the stance that it took against scientific rationalism, and more famously because of its proclamation of the dogma of Papal Infallibility. This famous and controversial dogma is, unsurprisingly, mocked at

[16] See Atkin and Tallett, *ibid*.

numerous moments in the *Wake*, perhaps most humorously in Chapter II.1, as the notion is translated into aquatic terms when we hear of how 'the pesciolines in Liffeyetta's bowl have stopped squiggling about Junoh and the whalk and feriaquintaism and pebble infinibility and the poissission of the hoghly course' (245.10-13). This statement appears to relate the fact that the Dublin masses (all who live in the basin of the River Liffey, but in terms of linguistic patterns they seem Italianised) have given up arguing over such technicalities as the accuracy of the Biblical story about Jonah and the Whale, or the place of the *Feria Quinta* in the Easter *Triduum*, the dogma of Papal Infallibility, and ownership of the 'Holy Course', and have instead willingly handed authority over to the Church hierarchy in Rome. On one level this act of submission could be seen as the end of Catholic modernism itself, an important late nineteenth century challenge to the *de facto* authority of Rome, and a movement that I discuss in further detail below.

Within Joyce studies the First Vatican Council is most often discussed in relation to the distorted version of the debate over Papal Infallibility that appears in the short story 'Grace', 'the greatest scene in the whole history of the Church' as Joyce has the ostensibly devout Cunningham proclaim (*D*, 191). In Joyce's account of the Council, the Irish Archbishop John McHale appears as something of a hypocrite, one minute opposing the dogma, and the next assenting to it whole-heartedly, 'the very moment [when] John MacHale, who had been arguing and arguing against it, stood up and shouted out with the voice of a lion: "*Credo!*"' (*D*, 192). However, it has long been acknowledged by scholars that this could not have been so. As Gifford points out, McHale was in

Ireland at the time of the vote, and Joyce appears to have exaggerated and distorted the details of the story for dramatic and ironic effect.[17]

What is less noted by critics is the fact that Joyce had not forgotten about McHale when composing the *Wake*. A possible allusion to the Archbishop occurs in one of Issy's monologues, when she speculates about her lover by saying, 'I just want to see will he or are all Michales like that' (461.20-1). If this is indeed a reference to McHale then the question of 'will he or won't he?' might relate to the decision to assent to Papal Infallibility. Yet in broader narrative terms it is clear that the question is a sexual one. At this moment it seems that McHale is being identified with 'Fr. Michael', a priestly lover for both Issy and ALP who appears at various moments in the *Wake*, and hardly a flattering identification for a senior cleric. A further allusion to McHale in the *Wake* occurs as Joyce explicitly echoes the account of Vatican I that appears in 'Grace'. In this humorous re-staging, the Archbishop of Tuam's alleged cry of 'Credo' is parodied as follows: 'Happy Maria and Glorious Patrick, etc., etc. In fact, always, have I believe. Greedo!' (411.19-21). This configuration reduces belief in the powers of Our Lady and St. Patrick to a throwaway, gluttonous exclamation, combining a sense of forgetfulness with regards to the evolution of particular cults and dogmas with a more general jibe at clerical greed.

At the time of its convocation the longevity of the pronouncements of the Council can hardly have been imagined. Yet remarkably, as Duffy notes, the Council's decisions were destined to remain current for almost a century. On July 19th the Franco-Prussian War erupted and the Council was suspended. As it happened the Council was never reconvened, and the first order of business at the Second Vatican Council, almost a century later, was to declare Vatican I closed.[18]

---

[17] See Don Gifford, *Joyce Annotated: Notes for 'Dubliners' and 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man'*, rev. ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), p. 108.
[18] See Duffy, p. 301.

Pio Nono died on 7 February 1878, having been in large part responsible for establishing the Catholic Church as a supremely conservative force on the world stage. As Chadwick notes, it would not have been conceivable for the cardinals that Pio Nono had left behind to elect a successor who was not a conservative, and this is exactly as it came to pass when Leo XIII took the reins, probably the *Wake*'s 'Lio the Faultyfindth' (153.34) or fault finder.[19] This figure, pontiff from 1878-1903, deserves special notice in this study as he was the Pope directly responsible for the Church into which Joyce was born. In many respects he did, however, seek to continue the work of his predecessor. Like Pio Nono, he was an exceptionally Marian Pope and promoted a range of devotions to the Virgin, a key thematic for Joyce. A more unique aspect of his pontificate that appears to have directly influenced the author is his love of Aquinas, and the Thomist revival that he oversaw. This movement was officially instigated by the well-known encyclical of 1879, *Aeterni Patris*, in which he instructs 'carefully selected teachers […] to implant the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas in the minds of students, and set forth clearly his solidity and excellence over others'.[20] It is difficult not to see the young Joyce's claim that he was 'steeled in the school of old Aquinas' (*CW*, 152) in relation to the agenda of this Pope, regardless of the distaste that the author would surely have felt for the association.

Leo XIII's approach was overwhelmingly conservative and traditionalist, and like his predecessor he despised both Freemasonry and Socialism and condemned these burgeoning movements. But in one aspect of his papacy he is sometimes considered to have taken a more 'liberal' approach, and that is in the area of Bible scholarship. His 1893 encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* appears to allow Catholics more freedom to study in this area than had been enjoyed at any time since the

[19] Owen Chadwick, *A History of the Popes, 1830-1914* (Oxford: Clarenden, 1998), p. 278.
[20] Leo XIII, *Aeterni Patris: Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the Restoration of Christian Philosophy* <http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_04081879_aeterni-patris_en.html> Accessed 1 January 2012 (para. 31).

Reformation. In this document the Pope, or his ghost-writer, celebrates the achievements of the Bible scholars of antiquity and suggests that the study of the Vulgate is a suitable occupation for a well-educated Catholic. It is, however, made clear that such study can only be undertaken in the light of the already established teachings of Mother Church. *Providentissimus Deus* explicitly condemns scientific or rationalist approaches to Scripture, and hits out against the 'enemies of religion' and their much 'vaunted "higher criticism"', which, in the Pontiff's eyes, 'will not throw on the Scripture the light which is sought, or prove of any advantage to doctrine; it will only give rise to disagreement and dissension, those sure notes of error, which the critics in question so plentifully exhibit in their own persons'.[21] The logic of this statement is itself remarkable: according to the highest Catholic authority, the fact that a mode of scholarship provokes debate and conflict is enough to prove its erroneous nature.

The Pope does not name his targets in the encyclical, but it is likely that the source of his ire were the liberal Protestant scholars who had been pioneering new approaches to the Bible since the rise of the Tübingen School in the 1840s. The rise of a rationalist or 'Modernist' approach to the Bible was, however, destined to soon become a problem from within, as well as from without, the Catholic Church. The 'Modernist crisis', as this period in Church history came to be known, was probably the most damaging thing to hit the Church since the Papal States had begun to fall in the middle of the century. This crisis was made all the more severe because, as Chadwick notes, for the first time the details of the Church's internal affairs were being widely reported in the Press.[22]

---

[21] Leo XIII, *Providentissimus Deus: Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the Study of Holy Scripture* <http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_18111893_providentissimus-deus_en.html>. Accessed 1 January 2012 (para. 17).

[22] See Chadwick, p. 347.

It is difficult to provide an objective definition of what Catholic Modernism was, or is, simply because the term was not one used by the Modernists themselves, but rather a derogatory label that Pius X (who succeeded Leo XIII in 1903) attached to the movement in his 1907 encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, a document that was designed to stamp out Modernism in all of its forms. Generally speaking, the individuals who are primarily associated with the Modernist movement by Church historians are as follows: the French Priest Abbé Alfred Loisy, often called Modernism's 'founding father', the expelled Irish Jesuit George Tyrell, the Italian philosopher Ernesto Buonaiuti, and the French historian of the Church and its dogmata Pierre Batifol. It is, however, pertinent to note that these thinkers actually embody a fairly diverse range of national traditions and Christian thought.

Yet despite the slippery nature of this category, within both Church historical scholarship, and the writings of the 'Modernists' themselves, several key themes do emerge. The first of these are a set of broad concerns with the importance of science and history. To these more general interests should be added an emphasis on the importance of a rationalist approach to the Bible as a fallible text, the very mode of scholarship that was condemned in *Providentissimus Deus*, and a method of reading the Bible that Pius X describes as the 'dismembering of the Sacred Books'.[23] A further crucial point, to again borrow the words of Pius X, is an interest in 'the intrinsic *evolution* of dogma',[24] i.e. the notion that the Church's teachings are not intrinsic or absolute, but rather that they do, and indeed should, change throughout time.

The Modernist crisis is an aspect of Church history that Lernout attaches particular importance to in relation to Joyce's own approach to both the Bible and the history of dogma, particularly as this is

[23] Pius X, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis: Encyclical of Pope Pius X on the Doctrines of the Modernists* <http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_x/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_19070908_pascendi-dominici-gregis_en.html>. Consulted 1 January 2012 (para. 34).
[24] *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, para. 13.

reflected in the fiction up until 1922. Furthermore, as Lernout goes on to explain, Joyce continued to exhibit an interest in accounts of the Bible and of Church History that could be loosely termed Modernist while he was working on the *Wake*. In the notebook VI.B.2 Joyce took notes from two rationalist critiques of the Bible, John Mackinnon Robertson's *Pagan Christs: Studies in Comparative Hierology* and Grant Allen's *The Evolution of the Idea of God*, as well as taking notes from the recently published apocryphal gospel of St. James in VI.B.11. Lernout also points out that in the notebook VI.B.28 Joyce took notes from Joseph Turmel's banned book on the history of the devil.[25]

In my view, Lernout is correct in asserting that the precepts of Catholic Modernism are potentially extremely pertinent in terms of Joyce's practice. Joyce's move towards an understanding of the historical changeability of the Church's 'apostolic' teachings can, moreover, be detected in the manner in which he depicts Stephen's intellectual growth in the fiction. In *A Portrait*, Stephen famously eschews Protestantism by declaring the he is not willing to 'forsake an absurdity which is logical and coherent and to embrace one which is illogical and incoherent' (*P*, 244). However, upon his return to Dublin at the opening of *Ulysses*, he seems rather less convinced of the Catholic Church's internal coherence, as he reflects upon 'the slow growth and change of rite and dogma like his own rare thoughts, a chemistry of stars' (*U*.1.652-3). More pertinent in terms of this study is the fact that the notion of the evolution of dogma can be mapped onto Joyce's approach to Church history in the last work. Throughout the *Wake*, Joyce turns to numerous moments of schism and disruption that punctuate this history, and incorporates allusions to literally dozens of rebellions that were subsequently deemed heretical by the Church. As I go on to argue in Chapter 1, it is relatively unusual for Joyce to explore the intricacies of these heresies in any great depth in the *Wake*. But, as an approach

[25] See Lernout, pp. 194-5.

to Church history, his method does appear to have distinctly Modernist characteristics. His frequent recourse to moments of conflict, and subsequent realignment, over crucial dogmata, can, on one level at least, be viewed as an 'exposé' of the history of Catholic teaching as not the unbroken apostolic tradition that She claims for Herself, but rather as a jagged line that has been shaped by numerous ideological battles and power struggles.

Be this as it may, it must also be emphasised that we cannot make easy assumptions regarding the exact nature of Joyce's interests in his last work, despite the hints that survive as tangible traces in the archive. A fact that might counter Lernout's thesis, to an extent, is the observation that within the *Wake* itself the canonical figures of Church Modernism actually receive very little attention. The only individual strongly associated with the movement to be named is Abbé Loisy, a figure who crops up in a description of HCE's 'perusal flea and loisy manner' (516.9), a 'free and easy' manner that also sounds distinctly 'lousy'. Furthermore, the only reference to Grant Allen is not to his radical theology, but to his better known novel of 1895, *The Woman Who Did*—a work that enjoyed a *succès de scandale* owing to its unconventional approach to the institution of marriage.[26]

The Roman Catholic Church as it stood at the turn of the last century is the very institution that Joyce consciously elected to leave behind. But it is important to note that, despite his apostasy, Joyce appears to have kept his eyes on the Vatican until the last years of his life, and the most recent Pope to feature in the *Wake* is Pius XI, pontiff from 1922 until his death in 1939, and a figure who earned his place in the history books by finally resolving the relationship between the Church's dominion, and the new nation of Italy, by founding Vatican City as an independent sovereign state in

[26] An informative account of the reception of this hugely popular work of fiction can be found in Vanessa Warne and Colette Colligan's 'The Man Who Wrote a New Woman Novel: Grant Allen's "The Woman Who Did" and the Gendering of New Woman Authorship', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 33.1 (2005), 21-46.

1929. In Chapter I.6 of the *Wake*, Joyce appears to reverse the pious intent behind this Pope's 1928 encyclical *Miserentissimus Redemptor*, as he has the mischievous Gripes proclaim to his Pope-like brother, 'Think of it! O miserendissimest retempter! A Gripes!' (154.6)—a statement that appears to cast the arch-Catholic Shaun-Mookse in the role of tempter, or indeed re-tempter.[27] In typically Wakean fashion Joyce does, however, seem to have chiefly delighted in this figure's rather unfortunate birth name, Ambrogio Damiano Achille Ratti. The Mookse's response to the outburst quoted immediately above is 'Rats!' (154.7), and plays on his name also appear in the phrases 'Ask my index, mund my achilles' (154.18), and in Issy's playful words to her lover, 'scene it, ratty' (458.6). Again, these jibes can hardly be thought sophisticated, but they do bear witness to Joyce's persistent animosity towards the Catholic hierarchy in the last decade and a half of his life.

It is hoped that the historical narrative laid out thus far provides the reader with a useful overview of the politics and policies of the Church in the years immediately preceding, and including, those in which Joyce received his formal Catholic education, and indeed beyond: a Church that, as we have already begun to see, constitutes an important subject for the fiction. But Joyce's lived experiences of Catholicism did not come directly from Rome, but via a culture of Irish Catholicism that existed in Victorian and Edwardian Dublin during his juvenile years. It is to this important context that I now turn my attentions.

[27] The encyclical itself is largely concerned with affirming Catholic belief in Margaret Mary Alacoque's vision of Christ exposing his Sacred Heart, a popular devotion that—as I discuss in Chapter 4—is also treated with due irreverence in the *Wake*.

As countless Church and social historians have noted, in the first half of the nineteenth century the Church in Ireland continued to display a great number of local idiosyncrasies, in some respects to a greater degree than many Catholic nations on the Continent. This state of affairs has been attributed to numerous factors by historians, including most convincingly the fact that the Inquisition never reached Ireland's shores, and that the Penal Laws had forced a less formal and underground religious culture to blossom.[28] The popular approach to religion in pre-modern Ireland has been usefully described by Geroid Ó Crualaoich as a 'native or ancestral religious sensibility',[29] a climate in which pagan traditions persisted alongside more orthodox Christian ideas. The nature of the Irish Church in this period is deeply complex, and a subject that Larkin began to address from a socio-cultural perspective in his 2006 study on the period 1750-1850. In terms of the most popular features of this religious culture Ó Crualaoich is, however, extremely helpful, and he cites rituals such as pilgrimages, pattern-festivities, and wakes as important examples of 'a religious sensibility on the part of the rural masses that derives as much from a Celtic or pagan cosmological tradition as from a Christian one'.[30]

Local pilgrimages and pattern-festivities are related concepts, and practices that have been usefully discussed by the cultural historian Diarmuid Ó Giolláin. The 'pattern', a term derived from the Hiberno-English pronunciation of the word 'patron', is the word used to denote a uniquely Irish rite that was ostensibly undertaken by the masses to honour the patron saint of a given local holy site,

[28] See Raymond Gillespie, 'Popular and Unpopular Religion: A View From Early Modern Ireland', in *Irish Popular Culture, 1650-1850*, ed. by James S. Donnelly, Jr. and Kerby A. Miller (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998), pp. 30-49 (p. 32).
[29] Geroid Ó Crualaoich, 'The Merry Wake', in *Irish Popular Culture, 1650-1850*, ed. by James S. Donnelly, Jr. and Kerby A. Miller (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998), pp. 173-200 (p. 173).
[30] Ó Crualaoich, p. 176.

although a large number of these sites had roots that were pre-Christian. As Ó Giolláin explains, despite local variations, several common features of pattern-festivities emerge. The first of these is that pilgrims would often perform circuits or 'rounds' centred on a given feature (often a holy well). During these rounds, certain numerical patterns had to be strictly adhered to, and prayers were repeated in a fixed sequence. Part of the pattern would usually be undertaken on one's knees, often causing serious injury. Further common features include the fact that rosaries would be recited, prayer cards and other tokens would be sold as souvenirs, water or other items would be taken away as relics, and pilgrims would bathe together naked, regardless of sex. The 'devotional' part of proceedings was usually followed by drinking, dancing (patterns were often used as the occasion to arrange marriages), and bonfires.[31] Given this unholy alliance of the sacred and the profane, it is hardly surprising that the clergy stopped attending in the late eighteenth century. Nevertheless, there is evidence that patterns continued to play a part in Irish Catholic life into the nineteenth century, and that some patterns were revived in the early part of the twentieth, indicating that while this tradition is extremely unlikely to have been something that the city-born Joyce would have had direct experience of, this could easily be a rite that had lingering cultural resonances within the society in which he was raised.[32]

What is certain is that Joyce chose to acknowledge this earlier religious culture in the *Wake*, and that a handful of brief, but revealing, allusions to pattern-festivities and local pilgrimages appear. The first of these occurs in Chapter II.1, where we hear of a drama between the Earwicker boys:

[31] See Diarmuid Ó Giolláin, 'The Pattern', in *Irish Popular Culture, 1650-1850*, ed. by James S. Donnelly, Jr. and Kerby A. Miller (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998), pp. 201-221, *passim*.

[32] Ó Giolláin describes the pattern at St. Gobnait's Well in Dunquin, County Kerry, a festival that was revived in the early twentieth century and continues to this day (see p. 202).

> CHUFF (Mr Sean O'Mailey, see the chalk and sanguine pictograph on the safety drop), the fine frank fairhaired fellow of the fairytales, who wrestles for tophole with the bold bad bleak boy Glugg, geminally about caps or puds or tog bags or bog gats or chuting rudskin gunerally or something, until they adumbrace a pattern of somebody else or other, after which they are both carried off the set and brought home to be well soaped, sponged and scrubbed again' (220.11-18).

In this literal set-piece the devotional aspect of the imagined pattern is inconsequential. The boys might casually 'adumbrace a pattern of somebody else or other', forgetting the name of the patron in question. But it is wrestling and physical competition that takes priority, until the boys are sent home to be scrubbed up by their mother. A similarly violent connotation lurks beneath a reference in the following chapter to 'when we are making pilscrummage to whaboggeryin' (305.33). The name of the pilgrimage site given here appears to be a crude parody of a rural Irish locale ('Wha' bog yer in?'), which also includes a pun suggesting Erin ('eryin'). However, it is the word 'pilscrummage' that so beautifully encapsulates the 'scrum' that might accompany such an event. As Ó Giolláin notes in relation to the pattern pilgrimage, loss of life was common at such events owing to faction fighting.[33]

But with all of this said, when it comes to Joyce's engagement with Ireland's 'ancestral' religious past, it is obviously the image of the traditional Irish wake itself that is afforded the most prominent position in the last work, featuring as it does in the very title. Yet, as is also the case in the examples discussed briefly above, despite Joyce's decision to foreground an image that relates to Ireland's early modern religious culture, it is clear that his interest in such rituals is not a straightforward act of cultural revivalism or retrieval, but something far more ambivalent. The perhaps irreverent nature of Joyce's interest in waking rites is illustrated by the fact that his source of

[33] Ó Giolláin, p. 204.

inspiration for this theme was not a particularly solid one, but rather the popular music-hall song 'Finnegan's Wake'. The song, like most nineteenth century ballads, exists in many variants. All do, however, tell the story of the Irish hod-carrier and drunk Tim Finnegan, who falls from a ladder and 'breaks his scull'. Upon taking the body home, Finnegan's friends and family 'wake' him, a social occasion that relies heavily on drink and dance, but that eventually turns into a brawl as 'Shillelagh law [becomes] all the rage'. In the final verse, whiskey is spilled over Finnegan's body, causing him to rise again, exclaiming, 'Jaysus, do ye think I'm dead?'—an image that is at once comic and grotesque.

A number of the song's themes emerge in Joyce's work, the most central being the idea of a fall and resurrection itself, though the 'jests, jokes, jigs and jorums for the Wake' (221.26) re-emerge at numerous moments. Joyce's choice of refrain could be thought of in celebratory terms, but it is striking to note that despite the song's ostensibly jovial feel, many of the images found in 'Finnegan's Wake' are far removed from the idyllic representation of Ireland past found in much literature dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, whether written from an Irish Catholic or Anglo-Protestant perspective. It seems that rather than indulge in the romanticisation of Ireland's rural Catholic history—a mode that one might associate with some of the literary output of writers associated with the 'Celtic Twilight'— Joyce chose for a source of inspiration a song that would contribute to the chaos, drunkenness, and revelry of his vision of the *Wake*, a vision that is also often violent and nightmarish.

The traditional Irish wake then functions as a useful metaphor for the work as a whole. Yet despite these several Wakean nods towards this earlier culture of Irish Catholicism, it is clear that the vast majority of the religious cultural 'fodder' in the book is not inspired by this tradition, but by a mode of late nineteenth and early twentieth century devotional Catholicism that was more formalised

and bourgeois, and certainly more Roman, than anything that had gone before. As I have noted above, our understanding of the history of the Catholic Church in Ireland in the modern period has been greatly enhanced in recent years owing to Larkin's ground-breaking historical research. The most influential aspect of this research is his notion of Ireland's 'devotional revolution', a model that Larkin first put forward in a 1972 essay for the *American Historical Review*. This 'revolution', as Larkin understands it, was spearheaded by one Paul, Cardinal Cullen, who took up the office of Archbishop of Dublin in 1852, and was eventually rewarded for his efforts with the scarlet cap.

Cullen's reign was a controversial one from the outset, as his Ultramontane allegiances were so abundantly clear. In contrast to the much loved McHale, Archbishop of Tuam, who dedicated the best part of his career to championing Irish national concerns, Cullen had trained at the Irish College in Rome, where he was later appointed rector, and was intimate with both Gregory XVI and Pio Nono, sharing many of their objectives in terms of ecclesiastical discipline and the regulation of the devotional behaviour of the masses. His overwhelmingly Roman agenda is illustrated by the fact the he was heavily involved in the definition as dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and would later go on to be instrumental in the shaping of the dogma of Papal Infallibility. As Cullen's biographer Desmond Bowen notes, the new Primate managed to provoke nationalists soon after his translation to Ireland by placing the country under the special patronage of Our Lady, rather than her traditional patron, St. Patrick.[34] His tactical alliances with Dublin Castle throughout his years in the city also led to many accusations that Cullen was willing to sacrifice Ireland's national agenda in favour of his Ultramontane goals, something that Joyce was certainly aware of, and an idea that I discuss in more detail in Chapter 2.

[34] See Desmond Bowen, *Paul Cardinal Cullen and the Shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1983), p. 130. An account of the early years in Rome is also included at pp. 1-29 of this work.

Despite the controversy associated with this figure, his time in Ireland was a roaring success from the perspective of the Church of Rome. As Larkin demonstrates via statistical analysis,

> in the twenty years following Cullen's arrival in Ireland the number of priests was increased by some seven hundred, or nearly twenty-five per cent, to a total of about 3,200, while the Catholic population declined from five to four million. The nun population increased even more rapidly over the same period. In 1850, for example, there were only some 1,500 nuns in Ireland, while in 1870 there were more than 3,700.[35]

Given the massive population decline that resulted from the Great Famine at mid century—both as a consequence of death and mass emigration—these rising clerical numbers led to a huge improvement in the ratio between clergy and laity. The consequences of the Famine appear to have aided Cullen's agenda in other ways as well. As the social historian Maria Luddy notes, there was a startling increase in permanent celibacy in Ireland in the post-Famine era, a state of affairs for which numerous explanations have been tabled, including the suggestion that changes in inheritance law had encouraged men to keep their economic assets within their own family line, and the idea that the increasing difficulty of securing a dowry in uncertain economic times led to more girls being left with the convent as the only alternative to permanent spinsterhood.[36] But whatever the reason for this sudden upturn in the number of permanent celibates, this trend certainly suited the agenda of the Catholic Church in the short term, an institution that could, of course, only recruit its clergy from those willing to commit to remaining unmarried for life.

---

[35] Emmet Larkin, 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75, *The American Historical Review*, 77.3 (1972), 625-652 (p. 644).

[36] See Maria Luddy, *Women in Ireland, 1800-1918: A Documentary History* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1995), pp. 5-6 and *passim.*

As Luddy and a number of other feminist historians and critics have noted, this shift led to a disastrous set of social circumstances for many unmarried girls and women, whose prospects were becoming increasingly limited. This is, moreover, a situation that Joyce explicitly engages with through his fictional portraits of characters such as Eveline, Gerty McDowell, and, in my view, Issy, an idea to which I return in Chapter 3. Yet, from Cullen's point of view, the large scale decrease in the Irish population, along with an increased number of individuals opting for the religious life, served his aim of reinventing the religious geography of Ireland particularly well. The newly invigorated clergy now engaged in building new churches, schools, seminaries, convents and presbyteries. Along with these changes in the physical landscape of Catholic Ireland, there was also a new focus on Rome-sanctioned devotional exercises designed to reshape the internal landscape of an individual's religious conscience. As Larkin describes the situation, this led to the increasing popularity of 'the rosary, forty hours, perpetual adoration, novenas, blessed altars, *Via Crucis*, benediction, vespers, devotion to the Sacred Heart and to the Immaculate Conception, jubilees, triduums, pilgrimages, shrines, processions and retreats', as well as booming membership in Catholic organisations such as the Society of St. Vincent de Paul and St. Peter's Pence, and numerous temperance societies.[37]

There was also a pronounced shift in the material culture of Irish Catholicism at this time, something that Atkin and Tallett have described as 'the commodification of Catholicism'.[38] I tend to disagree slightly with Atkin and Tallett's suggestion that the commodification of Catholicism was a new phenomenon in the later decades of the nineteenth century, as there is strong evidence of a souvenir culture existing around pilgrimage sites from the medieval period onwards.[39] However, it is

[37] Larkin, p. 645.
[38] Atkin and Tallett, p. 186.
[39] Deborah J. Birch provides a description of the material trappings associated with the medieval pilgrimage, including items such as a scrip (a bag or pouch), staff, and pilgrim badge. This idea also comes through in Joyce's description of a

clear that this trend was hugely on the ascent. As Larkin writes, the new public devotional exercises were 'reinforced by the use of devotional tools and aids: beads, scapulars, medals, missals, prayer books, catechisms, holy pictures and *Agnus Dei*'.[40] As I argue throughout this thesis, it is this particular brand of Irish Catholicism, with all of its material trappings, that Joyce was thoroughly enmeshed in as a young man, and that he appropriates for his own ends in the *Wake*.

Cullen's reforms were then dramatic ones for Irish Roman Catholics, but, turning from religious politics to Ireland's larger concerns, the nationalist movement does appear to have floundered somewhat during his long reign. This was also true of Cullen's successor, Edward McCabe, a man who only held office for six years, but an individual whom, as the *Catholic Encyclopedia* relates, was at one point placed under police protection when militant Irish nationalists threatened his life. This period of perhaps heavy-handed clerical governance did, moreover, coincide with the gap left by the death of the champion of Catholic Emancipation Daniel O'Connell in 1847, one which would not be filled until the rise of Isaac Butt's Home Rule movement in the early seventies, closely followed by the rise of the charismatic Charles Stewart Parnell.

Despite this rocky patch, by the early 1880s the tacit Clerical-Nationalist alliance that had existed in O'Connell's day appeared to be back on track, and as Oliver MacDonagh has put it, the Church in the eighties was 'embedded in and integral to the Parnellite movement' that blossomed in this period.[41] This state of affairs appears to have been helped along by the new Archbishop of Dublin William Walsh (in office from 1885-1921), a man who supported the burgeoning Gaelic League, and morally sanctioned the non-violent Plan of Campaign in defiance of the Pope. This last strategy

---

'pilscrummage', discussed above, where he alludes to a pilgrim's 'staff, scarf and blessed wallet' (306.1). See Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2000), pp. 76-9.

[40] Larkin, p. 645.

[41] Oliver MacDonagh, *States of Mind: A Study of the Anglo-Irish 1780-1980* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1983), p. 91.

famously involved Irish tenants withholding *en masse* unfair rents charged by often absentee, Anglo-Irish landlords, and eventually resulted in the Wyndham Land Act of 1903, which allowed tenant farmers to obtain loans in order to purchase their freeholds at an affordable rate.

In aligning himself with the cause of the Irish farmers, Walsh appears to have at first succeeded in uniting Catholic and nationalist agendas. Crisis was, however, just around the corner. When, in 1890, Parnell was famously named in the O'Shea divorce trial, the Irish bishops, including Walsh, suddenly found that their established moral agenda, and their political alliances, were in direct conflict. It is not the business of the thesis to argue for or against the stance that the bishops eventually took, for which compelling arguments can be made on both sides. But regardless of one's adopted position, the outcome was that the Catholic hierarchy formally denounced Parnell, creating a rift between staunch Parnellite nationalists, and the clergy themselves, that looms large in Joyce's fictional recreations of his early life. The 'betrayal' of Parnell is something that is rendered in a dramatic manner in *A Portrait*, most famously in the furious scene between the anticlerical John Casey and Simon Dedalus—of course a version of Joyce's own father—and the devout Dante Riordan, over Christmas dinner, a scene that includes Simon's scathing description of Walsh as 'Billy with the lip' (*P*, 33). This sense of irreverence towards the Bishop who had attempted to back Ireland's national cause does, unsurprisingly, continue in the *Wake*, when we hear a defensive HCE claim that he 'oldways did me walsh and preechup' (318.19), a playful pun that appears to reduce Walsh's preaching to something equivalent to a 'wash and brush-up'.

The fall of Parnell is a favourite topic for Joyceans, a number of whom have debated the intricacies of Joyce's own Parnellite sympathies throughout his life.[42] This is a topic that I do not have the space to address in depth in this project, but one that I return to briefly in the Ricorso, in relation to HCE. With that said, it is important to note that, despite the dramatic nature of the Parnell crisis, reactions against the Church appear, on the most part, to have died down fairly quickly among the population at large. In the first years of the twentieth century, it is clear that the terms Catholic and nationalist were becoming virtually synonymous. This belief was hammered home in the columns of nationalist papers like the *Leader*, a publication that was the source of a number of Joyce's reading notes (for example, the clusters of notes that appear in Buffalo notebook VI.B.1, a document that dates from the mid-twenties), many of which were then incorporated into the text of the *Wake*. The editor of the *Leader*, D.P. Moran, insisted that the Protestant nationalism espoused by the likes of Wolfe Tone, Henry Grattan, and Parnell himself, was unfit. In Moran's eyes, a truly Irish Ireland could only be Catholic, a dream that in many respects came to fruition with the founding of the staunchly Catholic Free State following the Partition agreement, and signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, in 1921. In the interests of fairness, it should be noted that Moran does table the possibility of welcoming other cultures, writing in *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland* that 'the foundation of Ireland is the Gael, and the Gael must be the element that absorbs'.[43] It is, however, abundantly clear that any such assimilation can only take place in terms decided by Ireland's 'native' population.

This is the point where many Joyceans abandon their historical narratives, a serious problem when it comes to a reading of the *Wake*. When reading the last work, Joyce's abiding concern with

[42] More than twenty-five entries on this subject are recorded in William S. Brockman's *James Joyce Checklist* <http://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/JamesJoyceChecklist>. Accessed 1 January 2012.
[43] D.P. Moran, *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland* (Dublin: James Duffy and Co. and M.H. Gill and Son, 1905), p. 37.

Catholic Ireland's affairs in the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century simply cannot be ignored. This is a subject about which he appears to have garnered information from Irish newspapers, when they were available to him in war-torn Europe, and naturally accounts relayed by his family and friends.[44]

A comprehensive social history of the role of the Church in Ireland during the years of the Free State is yet to be written. Larkin's series does not extend that far forward in time, and no comparable project has been undertaken elsewhere. From the historical literature that does exist, the large impact that the Catholic Church had on government policy, and by extension day to day life, in this period can, however, be easily discerned. As J.J. Lee notes in a study that has a primarily political focus, but one that does consider the role of the Church in the new State in some depth, the first President of the Executive Council William T. Cosgrave sought to consolidate relations between Church and government in the first decade of the fledgling state.[45] Cosgrave was joined in the political arena by a man who is probably the most famous figure-head of the new Catholic Ireland, one Éamon de Valera, an individual known for espousing a strong religious identity, as well as for his austerity and conservatism, and a figure who features in the *Wake* in important ways. The increasingly close-knit alliance of Church and State led to a rapid increase in censorship, and to Catholic moral values becoming enshrined as law, a move that, as Caitriona Beaumont and others have noted, was to have lasting negative consequences for Irish Catholic women.[46]

The resurgence of the Catholic right wing in the 1920s is something that is dramatised in a deeply complex and abstract manner throughout the *Wake*, and in Book IV especially, a notion that I

[44] The details of the manner in which Joyce took reading notes from numerous Irish newspapers in the 1920s are presented by the compilers of the Brepols facsimile editions of the Buffalo notebooks.
[45] See J.J. Lee, *Ireland, 1912-1985: Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 160.
[46] See Caitriona Beaumont, 'Women, Citizenship and Catholicism in the Irish Free State, 1922-1948', *Women's History Review*, 6.4 (1997), 563-585 and *passim*.

discuss most thoroughly in the Ricorso. This topic, along with the myriad of Church historical themes that I have introduced above, are returned to throughout this study in relation to Joyce's own unique approach to the history and culture of Catholic Ireland in his last work. It is hoped that this consideration will not only allow us to reconsider our view of the mature Joyce *vis-à-vis* the Catholic institution, but to reconsider the nature of Irish Catholic experience itself, as seen through his eyes.

'If so be you have metheg in your midness' (32.4-5)

As the reader may have intuited by this point, one of the primary approaches underpinning this thesis is what might be broadly termed the 'historical method'. This type of approach has been on the rise in literary criticism since the publication of Stephen Greenblatt's groundbreaking theoretical work in the 1980s, and is a movement that gained momentum in the nineties. Historical readings have, moreover, become increasingly prominent in Joyce studies in recent years, particularly as regards the fiction up until 1922. Understanding any kind of literature in relation to the historical circumstances that inform its production inevitably throws up numerous difficulties with regards to the manner in which a writer's literary output might be rightly said to be determined by the circumstances of its creation, or indeed the manner in which writers actively confront, and often explicitly subvert, the values of the culture in which they were raised, or reside. Furthermore, when it comes to reading a work that is as temporally slippery and diverse as the *Wake*, these difficulties are magnified significantly.

The subject of the *Wake* in history has received very little scholarly attention, and in terms of developing a method for reading the book historically, Thomas C. Hofheinz's study of 1995 *Joyce and the Invention of Irish History* is without a doubt the most substantial and useful work that has been

produced to date. Throughout his book, Hofheinz sets out to challenge the *a priori* assumptions of a number of recent interpreters of Joyce, arguing that the last work in particular 'challenges historicist critics by forcing a gap between what they find in its text and what they seek to find'.[47] Adopting what he describes as a set of humanist principles, Hofheinz sets Fredric Jameson's Marxist, cultural materialist approach to Joyce (as articulated in '*Ulysses* in History') against Paul Ricœur's 'subjectivism', and finds in favour of the latter thinker, who, according to Hofheinz, 'affirms the transformative power of narrative experience for the individual'.[48] Following Ricœur's principles, Hofheinz takes the subject in the *Wake* to be an agent that is neither entirely independent of social circumstances, nor merely a conduit for a collective norm.

For Hofheinz, the subject of the *Wake* is HCE himself, a figure that he sees as being the dreamer through which the entire narrative is mediated. In my opinion, this constant focus on HCE as the dreamer at the *Wake* is overplayed. This interpretation buys into John Bishop's still-influential view of the book as the dream of a single sleeping individual, a model that does not properly account for the complex layers of autonomy, and lack thereof, that Joyce attributes to numerous subjects within his fictional world. The notion of the *Wake* as a book that is both born out of the culture that produced it, while simultaneously seeking to challenge and redefine its assumptions, is, however, one that I tend to agree with, in as far as this is an approach that restores to Joyce his intellectual agency, while not seeking to disconnect him from the historical contexts in which his fiction is so thoroughly embroiled.

With these observations in mind, the approach that I take to Joyce's treatment of Irish Catholic culture throughout this study could be broadly defined as both intentionalist and humanist,

---

[47] Thomas C. Hofheinz, *Joyce and the Invention of Irish History: 'Finnegans Wake' in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 39.
[48] Hofheinz, p. 8.

acknowledging firmly the author's own agency with regards to his treatment of Irish Catholic history and culture. The manner in which any reader can begin to comprehend the precise nature of an author's intentions in such a dense and impenetrable work as this is an enormous challenge in itself. This challenge might, nevertheless, be faced in a variety of ways.

One possible means for gaining insight into the ideas that underpin Joyce's treatment of Catholicism, though one that is not adopted by Hofheinz, is through the methods traditionally associated with genetic criticism. This branch of literary studies is concerned with studying the process, alongside or in favour of the product, of literary creation. As Daniel Ferrer and Michael Groden have put it, 'like old-fashioned philology or textual criticism, [genetic criticism] examines tangible objects such as writers' notes, drafts, and proof corrections, but its real object is something much more abstract—not the existing documents but the movement of writing that must be inferred from them'.[49] My study does not have the same interest in the process of literary creation for its own sake as the one described in the above quotation. Nevertheless, throughout this thesis I do employ methodologies that might be considered 'genetic' in two distinct ways.

The first of these is the study of the composition history of the work in relation to the development of the religious, and more specifically Catholic, theme. As this is not a genetic study *per se*, I have not attempted to chart the evolution of Catholic, and Irish Catholic, themes across the *Wake* as a whole—something that would constitute a large-scale project of its own. Nevertheless, where the development of the Catholic theme in a given passage or portion of the work seems to be particularly pertinent in terms of possible meanings, I have considered the nature of the composition process in as much depth as seems to me to be useful, and have taken such decisions on a case-by-case basis.

[49] Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer, and Michael Groden (eds.), *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-textes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p. 2.

A second means by which I have employed genetic strategies is in relation to Joyce's use of particular sources: the books, pamphlets, newspapers and other printed materials that he read and took notes from. These he would frequently return to, sometimes months or even years later, with a view to incorporating selected phrases or images into the *Work in Progress*. A consideration of the importance of such material significantly enhances our understanding of Joyce's approach to the world around him, as it highlights the precise nature of the discourses with which Joyce engaged (where evidence survives), rather than simply considering his work in relation to a broad cultural *zeitgeist*. Of course, a consideration of Joyce's sources throws up difficulties of its own, and the author's reason for engaging extensively, or not, with a given source is not always clear. Furthermore, when working with passages in the *Wake* that appear to be deliberately mimetic, it is often uncertain as to whether Joyce intends to invoke a specific source, or a much broader cultural discourse. Therefore, throughout this study, I have sought to use sources in a nuanced manner, one that does not fetishize or over-determine their significance, but one that does consider, where relevant, the important role that Joyce's sources, or potential sources, can play in terms of our understanding of the work.

A final method that I have employed in order to come to a greater understanding of Joyce's approach to Irish Catholic discourse and history, though not one that is usually related to the principles of genetic criticism, is a close examination of the intricate narratives and patterns that Joyce develops in terms of character and plot. The notion of thinking about the *Wake* in terms that might in any way resemble those that would apply to a realist novel is an anathema to many critics, and Margot Norris has described such an approach as the 'novelistic fallacy'.[50] Norris's concerns are understandable: the *Wake* cannot, and indeed should not, be understood in terms of a singular, linear

[50] Margot Norris, *The Decentered Universe of 'Finnegans Wake: A Structuralist Analysis* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), p. 10.

plot, as such a reduction would undermine the impact of the radical aesthetic that Joyce so carefully forged. But with that said, in my view, it is equally important to reiterate that the *Wake* does not simply consist of the infinite linguistic play, and endless proliferation of meanings, that a large number of commentators have sought to emphasise.

The compositional documents for the *Work in Progress* reveal that, despite the long and laboured writing process, Joyce often began with a relatively simple narrative scenario. This is not to say that the complexities that were subsequently built into the work should be dismissed. However, it is clear that Joyce's addition of material was not random or mindless, and on many occasions it is obvious that he is attempting to preserve something of the underlying structures with which he began. The notebooks too reveal a clear 'method in the madness', particularly when it comes to the development of what might pass for character at the *Wake*. Using his system of sigla, Joyce attached certain phrases and traits to given textual entities, building up their 'personalities' in a manner which might mimic the creation of literary characters in a more conventional sense. The multi-faceted and diverse nature of these creations prevents them from being understood in singular terms—identifications for a given 'character' might range from grand archetypes and even geological metaphors, to far more local, particular, or human associations. But it is also true that the way in which these elements relate to each other is not random, and that distinct patterns or 'traits' can be discerned in relation to all of the book's major figures: a 'dynamic relationship' between levels of character that has been usefully discussed by Finn Fordham.[51]

It would not be possible in a study on this scale to discuss the characters at the *Wake* in terms of every layer of their aesthetic construction, a project that might itself be impossible. But when

[51] See Finn Fordham, *Lots of Fun at 'Finnegans Wake': Unravelling Universals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 33-6.

working from a historical perspective, an approach to character that focuses on the more 'human', and in some respects more 'realist' aspects of the *Wake*, can be extremely illuminating. As I set out to demonstrate throughout this thesis, each distinct character in the book's central family contributes to Joyce's cultural critique of Irish Catholicism in a unique way, giving voice, in a hugely complex and abstract manner, to those who speak for the Church, are entangled in its powers, or revolt against it. These moments of relative realism and clarity do not, of course, account for the book as a whole, and in some respects might be thought of as simply snapshots that inform a bigger picture. However, in concentrating on these aspects of the work, I do believe that this analysis is able to come closer, in certain ways, to an understanding of Joyce's provocative dismantling of the values of Irish Catholic society as this is dramatized therein.

From a pragmatic perspective, no one system of organising an exploration of the *Wake* will ever hold together perfectly. The book is such a fluid beast that any framework chosen will fail to suffice in every instance, perhaps the ultimate antidote to Joyce's regret that he 'may have oversystematised *Ulysses*'.[52] In addition, there are so many instances of overlap and reoccurrence in terms of character and narrative that any attempt to focus exclusively on a given element can only be successful to a limited extent. When constructing a project of this kind a sense of order must, however, be imposed, and in this instance, as intimated above, I have chosen to structure my commentary around studies of the *Wake*'s central characters, fictional entities that illuminate key aspects of Joyce's approach to the culture of Irish Catholicism.

With this in mind, the first of the central chapters turns to Shem, considering how the 'heretical' artist is presented in relation to the national and religious politics of early twentieth century

[52] Samuel Beckett, qtd in James Knowlson, *Damned to Fame: The Life of Samuel Beckett* (London: Bloomsbury, 1996), p. 103.

Ireland. The second chapter concentrates on Shaun, and particularly seeks to illuminate the impetus behind the staunchly anti-clerical parody that Joyce produces in Chapter III.2. Chapter 3 is concerned with Issy, and with the highly complex manner in which Joyce illustrates the plight of an Irish Catholic woman who is caught up in a frustrating and complex religious culture. Chapter 4 looks to the mother of the characters named thus far, ALP. This figure is in some respects further removed from the culture of Irish Catholicism than are her three children, having apparently married a Protestant pub landlord. However, elements of her early life story connect to that of her daughter in significant ways, and, as I go on to argue, her supposed distance from the culture of Irish Catholicism affects the content of Chapter I.8 in crucial ways. ALP is also given further consideration in the Ricorso when I discuss her climactic Book IV monologue.

One crucial member of the book's central cast of characters who falls outside of the structure outlined thus far is the *Wake*'s primary patriarch, HCE. This figure is frequently represented in relation to various shades of Anglo-Protestant allegiance, a religious culture that is not at the centre of this study. Despite this, at moments he is closely identified with each of his sons by turns, both of whom have strong Catholic inflections. With these complexities in mind, I have elected not to dedicate a full length chapter to the role of this uniquely situated figure. Rather, a consideration of HCE and his supposed sins has been allowed to haunt this thesis, as it does any reading of the *Wake*. Naturally, HCE is considered on numerous occasions in relation to his family members, but his role has been most fully considered in the Ricorso, where the demise of the Anglicised patriarch seems to be bound up with the reawakening of a newly empowered Irish Catholic hierarchy.

Before turning to the intricacies of the representation of individual characters and narratives, further observations must be made in relation to the critical heritage. As is the case with most aspects of

Joyce's life and work, the subject of the author's Catholicism has received a great deal of scholarly attention. Yet, as is also often the case, the manner in which Catholic concerns emerge in the *Wake* has been far less studied. With these observations in mind, the Critical Survey that follows this Introduction seeks to both retrace the steps of the schools of thought that have gone before, and to establish how the current study might correct, support, or enhance earlier criticism. After outlining in some detail the critical values that underpin this project, I proceed with the chapters already described.

'Dizzed and dazed by the lumpty thumpty

of our interloopings'

(550.36-551.10)

Critical Survey

The history of the critical appreciation of *Finnegans Wake* in relation to 'Catholicism', 'Roman Catholicism', and/or 'Irish Catholicism', whatever these overburdened terms might mean to us in the second decade of the twenty-first century, is in many respects a disjointed and complex tale.[1] As we have already seen, as a writer raised in a predominately Catholic country, and within a Catholic family, Joyce was inculcated in the teachings of the Church of Rome. Furthermore, despite his open rejection of this Church, the faith of his upbringing is deeply embedded in his writings from first to last. It is no surprise, then, to find that right from the start the connection between Joyce and Catholicism was acknowledged by his critics, even though the topic has not always been critically 'in vogue'.

Before Joyce had made his mark on the literary world, explicitly Catholic readings of his work were being produced. Joyce's early run-in with the censor of his college newspaper, *St. Stephen's*, over 'The Day of the Rabblement', an essay that famously opens with a reference to the heretical Giordano Bruno, could be perceived as the first of these. In a broader sense, censorship and religious readings go hand-in-hand in the early reception history. From the notorious intervention of the New York Society

[1] The reception history of Joyce's treatment of Catholicism tends to focus on Joyce's work up to *Ulysses*. While it is necessary to embed Catholic readings of *Finnegans Wake* within a broader discussion of Catholicism in Joyce's work as a whole, it is not practical to include a full survey. My focus throughout shall therefore remain on critical approaches to Catholicism in the last work.

for the Suppression of Vice in relation to the serialization of *Ulysses* in *The Little Review,* to the eventual banning of the novel in England, the United States, Canada and Australia, Joyce's grappling with censorship can be implicitly connected to Christian (albeit not exclusively Catholic) notions of morality.[2] While *Ulysses* was never 'officially' banned in Ireland, the novel certainly led an 'under-the-counter' existence in Joyce's home country.

A sense of Christian, and in this instance particularly Catholic, moral outrage also underpins one of the earliest public reactions to *Ulysses* from a Roman Catholic reader—Shane Leslie's essay for the October 1922 issue of the *Quarterly Review*. In his commentary, Leslie objects loudly to the 'dirt' of *Ulysses*, and to its particular parody of early twentieth century Dublin life, which he views as having 'little care for the *sacra* of Catholic or Protestant Christianity'.[3] Leslie, a first cousin to Winston Churchill, and a prominent Anglo-Irish convert to the faith, might be dismissed as a conservative typical of the era.[4] However, his input is perhaps particularly pertinent in terms of the reception of the *Wake*'s Catholic elements, as it is against exactly this sort of 'temporary Romanizer', i.e. Anglo-convert, that Thomas McGreevy directs his comments in the *Exagmination* of the *Work in Progress*—a collection of essays that Joyce famously engineered to accompany his burgeoning work in the late twenties, and the first 'official' interpretation of the book's 'Catholic Element'.

In his albeit brief essay for the *Exagmination*, McGreevy dismisses the disgust of Anglo-Catholic readers at the more sordid and sacrilegious aspects of *Ulysses*, arguing that for a work to be considered truly Catholic it must by necessity be all inclusive, claiming that 'to an intelligent Irishman

---

[2] The most detailed account of the battle to date can be found in Paul Vanderham, *James Joyce and Censorship: The Trials of 'Ulysses'* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998).

[3] Shane Leslie, 'Review of *Ulysses*', qtd in, Robert Demming (ed.), *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage, Volume 1* (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1970), pp. 206-11 (p. 209).

[4] See Anita Leslie, 'Leslie, Sir John Randolph, third baronet (1885-1971)', rev. Clare L. Taylor, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://0www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/31354>. Accessed 1 January 2012.

and to Mr. Joyce least of all, Catholicism is never a matter of standing on one leg. It is not a pose, it is fundamental. Consequently it has to face everything'.[5] Put very simply, McGreevy defends the work on the grounds that it is a portrait of Ireland's 'regular' Catholicism, in contrast to the 'superficial' Catholicism practiced by England's converts. It is a book that encapsulates that which is 'low' and 'dirty' as well as that which is 'high' and exalted.

McGreevy's argument is problematic. As I go on to discuss at various moments in this thesis, the idealisation of Joyce's Irish Catholicism as being superior to any other variant of the Roman faith is deeply troublesome, though this is a perspective that remains current in certain strands of criticism today. Furthermore, despite his provocative agenda, McGreevy's essay is something of a 'non-starter'. As numerous commentators have pointed out, McGreevy's contribution to the *Exagmination* is exceptionally uneven in tone. Throughout, he darts from a brief consideration of the importance of Dante and Vico, to the vindication of Joyce's profound Irish Catholicism, a dismissal of the English converts, and back again, ultimately failing to present anything resembling a coherent account of the author's allegiances. Any reader who approaches this essay in the hope of finding a thorough analysis of the book's treatment of Catholicism, or indeed Irish Catholicism, is bound to be disappointed.

The somewhat directionless nature of McGreevy's essay makes for a frustrating read. The essay's lack of substance might, furthermore, account in part for the ambiguous and often defensive manner in which Joyce's work was received by Catholic readers in the early days. As I have highlighted in the Introduction, both Stanislaus Joyce and Richard Ellmann promoted a disdainful understanding of Joyce's attitude to the Church in the 1950s. But in spite of this, as Lernout has

[5] Thomas McGreevy, 'The Catholic Element in *Work in Progress*', in *Our Exagmination Round his Factification for Incamination of 'Work in Progress'*, by Samuel Beckett *et al* (London: Faber and Faber, 1929, rpt 1960), pp. 117-27 (p. 121).

recently noted, in this era Joyce's work received a significant amount of attention from devout Catholic readers.

By way of illustration, Lernout flags up a number of examples. These include Curt Hohoff's 1951 essay on Joyce in an Austrian Catholic publication *Wort und Wahrheit*, which describes Stephen's rejection of all authority as 'a curse'. Essays by T.S. Eliot and work by Hugh Kenner (probably the most famous practicing Catholic to have worked in Joyce studies) are also understood in a similar light. Looking beyond Lernout's commentary, a further pro-Catholic source from this period is Thomas Merton's *Seven Storey Mountain*, in which he asserts that Joyce was responsible for his own conversion to the faith.[6] Two further essays in this vein exploit a distinctly paradoxical logic in order to prove that the very fact Joyce chose to leave the Church validates his identification as a Catholic writer. For Arland Ussher, the very fact of Joyce's lapse of faith proves him to be truly Catholic, a contradiction in terms that is never properly accounted for by the critic.[7] A similar 'logic' underpins an essay by Sam Hynes. Hynes describes Joyce's writing as 'Catholicism with the religion squeezed out', but nevertheless goes on to assert that 'it is no glib paradox [...] to call Joyce a "Catholic" writer in the same sense that Hopkins and Greene are Catholic'.[8] Glib paradox is precisely what this appears to be. It makes no sense at all to assert that Joyce's approach can be compared to that of the professed Catholic converts Gerard Manley Hopkins and Graham Greene, as it is precisely the deep-seated faith that underpins the work of these individuals that renders it 'Catholic'.

Turning now to the *Wake*, Campbell and Robinson in their *Skeleton Key,* the first major study of Joyce's final work, also place a positive spin on Joyce's religiosity. They argue rather reductively

[6] Thomas Merton, *Seven Storey Mountain* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948).
[7] See Arland Ussher, *Three Great Irishmen: Shaw, Yeats, Joyce* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1953), p. 129.
[8] Sam Hynes, 'The Catholicism of James Joyce', *Commonweal*, 55.20 (1952), 487-9 (488).

that the *Wake's* portrait of the 'innocent' St. Kevin is suggestive of 'Ireland's lovely Christian dawn of the fifth century', which is a wild misrepresentation of the irony that underpins the St. Kevin sketch as it appears in Book IV, to say the least.[9] They add to this rather grandiose, spiritual reading, by claiming that the *Wake* as a whole constitutes 'a mighty allegory of the fall and resurrection of mankind'. To these descriptions can be added the observations found in Niall Montgomery's 'The Pervigilium Phoenicis', an essay that seems to conflate the omnipresence of Catholic imagery in the *Wake* with Joyce's acceptance of the faith.[10]

Moving forward in time, but continuing in pursuit of the Catholic Joyce, the Jesuit Father William T. Noon published *Joyce and Aquinas* in 1957, a careful early study of the presence of the Angelic Doctor in Joyce's writings that highlights the extremely patchy nature of Joyce's formal scholastic education, and flags up many of the ways in which Joyce actually misappropriates Thomist thought throughout his *oeuvre*.[11] Noon's study is notable as it contains some detailed close readings of the *Wake* in the light of Catholic theology, the first study to do so that I am aware of. However, despite acknowledging that 'the avowal of personal faith is not explicit in the book and seems in the main to be absent', Noon asserts that 'the whole mythic material in the poetry revolves around a core of theological acceptance'—a statement that seems to owe more to his own religious conviction than to his actual reading of the book.[12] In fairness to Noon, it must be observed that in a later essay on the subject he tends to describe Joyce's perceived Catholicism in more nuanced terms, when he argues that

---

[9] Joseph Campbell and Henry Morton Robinson, *A Skeleton Key to 'Finnegans Wake'* (London: Faber and Faber, 1947), p. 28.

[10] See Niall Montgomery, 'The Pervigilium Phoenicis', *New Mexico Quarterly*, 23 (1953), 437-72.

[11] It should be noted that, despite the existence of this work, the influential Catholic critic H.M. McLuhan went on to argue in 1962 that, 'there was no shambling and no guess-work in anything Joyce did as an artist', the reason being that Joyce had a firm 'grasp of the full creative implications of the Thomistic analysis of cognition'. See McLuhan, 'Joyce, Aquinas, and the Poetic Process', in *Joyce's Portrait: Criticism and Critiques* (New York: Meredith, 1962), pp. 249-65 (p. 253).

[12] William T. Noon, *Joyce and Aquinas* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 143.

Joyce's attitude is too complex to be summed up in singular terms, and that Joyce might possibly be a humanist, but 'not a humanist pure and simple'. Nevertheless, for Noon a spiritual or transcendent reading must ultimately be maintained, and he adds the following highly subjective moral resolution: 'In order to be perfectly a human being, or perfectly a humanist, Joyce is saying, so anyway to me, that every nation needs some supernatural, otherworldly, transcendent image, an image not of nature but of grace'.[13] As an assertion of Joyce's investment in that which is otherworldly, this statement undermines the rather more plausible reading that Noon initially produces.

Loss of Faith

The study of Joyce and Catholicism was clearly on the rise in certain quarters by the time Noon's book appeared, and a year after *Joyce and Aquinas*, Kevin Sullivan's critical biography *Joyce Among the Jesuits* was published. This study does not get many citations in recent work on Joyce and Catholicism as it has in many respects been superseded by both Bruce Bradley's Ellmann-endorsed monograph of 1982, *James Joyce's Schooldays*, which corrects some minor factual errors in Sullivan's work, and Peter Costello's account of *The Years of Growth* that was published in 1992.[14] However, despite some undoubted errors, in my view Sullivan's book remains an important and under-used early source when it comes to an understanding of how Joyce left the Church.

---

[13] William T. Noon, 'The Religious Position of James Joyce', in *James Joyce: His Place in World Literature*, ed. by Wolodymyr T. Zymer (Lubbock: Texas Tech Press, 1969), pp. 7-22 (pp. 18-9).

[14] In his foreword to Bradley's book Ellmann emphasises the importance of an insider's perspective in order to promote Bradley's book ahead of Sullivan's. He writes that 'other writers have dealt with Belvedere and Clongowes, notably Kevin Sullivan. But Bruce Bradley has the advantage of belonging to the school system he is writing about. As a master at Belvedere, he can compare past and present with intimacy and expertise'. See Bruce Bradley, *James Joyce's Schooldays* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1982), p. ii.

Sullivan's account of Joyce's schooldays hinges on three main points: first, that Joyce seriously considered a Jesuit vocation, second, that Stephen's spiritual crisis in *A Portrait* does not re-enact Joyce's own, and finally, that Joyce's refusal of a vocation is quite distinct from his later rejection of Catholicism, despite the fact that in *A Portrait* they are made to appear simultaneous.[15] As it happens, Costello's more recent study presents a similar chronology. He also argues that Joyce still maintained some vestiges of his Catholic faith when he entered University College in the autumn of 1898, an idea that is supported, to an extent, by an essay describing his youth that Joyce wrote in 1904, in which he claims that at this time he was still 'soothed by devotional exercises'.[16]

But all of this stands in contrast to the 'official' account of Joyce leaving the Church that Ellmann canonised in his biography just a year after Sullivan's book appeared, and which presents a rather more romanticised view of Joyce's loss of faith. The notion of Joyce's all out rejection of the modern institution of Catholicism had already been tabled prior to this by J. Mitchell Morse. In his study *The Sympathetic Alien*, the crux of Morse's argument is that Joyce went through a two stage rejection of faith. He argues that in the earlier fiction (*Dubliners*, *A Portrait*, and *Ulysses*) Joyce rejects the Church because of its materialism, but that in the *Wake* he rejects its spiritual base also.[17] However, despite the broad plausibility of Morse's argument regarding the very fact of Joyce's rejection of Catholicism, the model presented is less than convincing. Morse provides no firm evidence of how or where the shift from a rejection of materialism to a rejection of spirituality is rendered in the fiction. Nor does he fully explain how he has arrived at his conclusion.

---

[15] See Kevin Sullivan, *Joyce Among the Jesuits* (New York & London: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 9.
[16] See Peter Costello, *James Joyce, The Years of Growth: 1882-1915* (London: Kyle Cathie, 1992), p. 153.
[17] See J. Mitchell Morse, *The Sympathetic Alien: James Joyce and Catholicism* (New York: New York University Press, 1959), p. 45 and *passim*.

Yet Ellmann's widely regarded work presents a number of difficulties too. While purporting to be based on verifiable fact, the account that appears in *James Joyce* appears to be heavily influenced by the fiction. In particular, Ellmann describes how, despite a slight lapse back into religious terror after the ghastly retreat described in *A Portrait*, the schoolboy Joyce progressed rather straightforwardly towards a life committed 'to art and to life'. He further contends that by the time of his final year interview with the Director of Studies Joyce, already absorbed in the life of an artist, identified the priesthood with 'imprisonment and darkness of the soul'. It is, it goes without saying, far from obvious how Ellmann can be so clear on the precise workings of the young man's mind in 1898. Equally dubious is his claim that the bird-girl incident actually took place 'around this time', a 'fact' that is rather speciously supported by a second-hand account given by Marthe Fleischmann many years later (all *JJ*, 55).

Sullivan's account clashes with Ellmann's on several points, and in contrast to Ellmann, Sullivan sets out to emphasise the ways in which the young Joyce was 'under the Jesuitical spell'.[18] Throughout his chapter on Joyce's Belvedere days, Sullivan is at pains to stress that Joyce does not appear to have been the rebel against the faith that some have thought him, or indeed the rebel that is portrayed in the fiction. In support of his assertions, Sullivan emphasises what Ellmann glosses over as mere pretence, namely that Joyce was his school's Sodality Prefect, a role to which he was re-elected shortly before he left Belvedere in December 1897.[19] What this fact illustrates is that he was not simply living out his Catholic training to an acceptable standard at this time, but to an exceptional one. The *Sodality Manual* that Joyce would have used confirms the status attached to the role of Prefect and the demands that would have been made of him:

[18] Sullivan, p. 111.
[19] See Sullivan, p. 118.

> The Prefect takes precedence in rank and office, and claims the first place after the Director, so should he excel the other members of the Sodality in virtue. Wherefore, he should observe with the greatest diligence not only the rules of his own office but also the common rules, those especially that relate to the frequentation of the sacraments, confessing his sins, and receiving the Blessed Eucharist more frequently than the others.[20]

Frustratingly, Belvedere College lost its *Annals of the Congregation of the Blessed Virgin Mary* at some point between the publication of Sullivan's book in the late 1950s, and the time Bradley was writing his some twenty-five years later, so we cannot look for any particular entries that would appear in the Sodality's records relating specifically to Joyce. However, Sullivan's claim that Joyce would have been required to be a model sodalist in order to be elected then re-elected to the role of Prefect seems sound. The question then remains: if Joyce was already a confirmed rebel against the faith at this early stage, what could possibly be gained from such a demanding charade? In further contrast to Ellmann, Sullivan also points out that the retreat that is afforded such a monumental place in Stephen's emotional development within *A Portrait* was actually a regular event for boys at Belvedere, and would therefore have been a rather more routine affair for Joyce than it is made to appear for Stephen.[21]

Overall, Sullivan sees Joyce's transition from pious schoolboy to rebellious artist as being rather less dramatic and clear-cut than is the case in Ellmann's version of events, arguing that the man who claimed that dogma was 'a most proper thing in a priest but a most improper in a poet', would be unlikely to substitute his lost faith in dogmatic theology with a similar one in art.[22] With this in mind,

---

[20] J.A. Cullen, *The Sodality Manual, or a Collection of Prayers and Spiritual Exercises for the Members of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son, 1886), p. 4.
[21] See Sullivan, p. 133.
[22] See Sullivan, pp. 145-6.

Sullivan flags up a long series of chronological inconsistencies between *A Portrait* and known facts, leading to the conclusion that:

> It makes a less exciting story—far less exciting than Stephen Dedalus's adolescent soul-wrestling and final escape from religious gloom to profane joy. But James Joyce's thoughts on the priesthood were the sensible thoughts of a reflective boy whose habitual attitudes of piety and obedience remained unbroken during all the time he was at Belvedere.[23]

Despite my broad sympathy with Sullivan's rather more 'messy' approach to the idea of an individual's loss of faith, I do not wish to contend that his account is unquestionably accurate either. Indeed, I believe that Sullivan goes too far in arguing for Joyce's completely 'unbroken' obedience to the Jesuits. This obedience he claims to have affected Joyce throughout his life, a continuation of the religious faith of his youth for which there is no real evidence. In truth, as I have also noted in the Introduction, many of the claims made by the critics discussed here regarding the private state of Joyce's faith at given moments in his life are neither provable nor disprovable, as even the perceptions of those closest to Joyce, and indeed the man himself, are likely to have become distorted over the course of several decades. Nevertheless, in my view, Sullivan's rather more down to earth account of loss of faith as a gradual process of wearing down rather than a sudden moment of revelation, coupled with his detailed chronology of facts that are known about this period in Joyce's life, provides a plausible version of events that is at least worth seriously considering. [24]

---

[23] Sullivan, p. 143.

[24] Such nuances can also be detected in two further articles from this period. In 'James Joyce's Shrill Note—The *Piccolo della Sera* Articles', Ellsworth Mason flags up the complexities and contradictions inherent in Joyce's approach to the Church in his early journalistic writings. Marvin Magalaner and Richard M. Kain are also reluctant to indulge in the myth of the easy conversion of James Joyce from devout schoolboy to liberated artist-hero. They argue that it is 'not a

Despite these initial debates over Joyce's Catholic allegiances, the subject appears to have been largely off the table in the bulk of early *Wake* scholarship. In contrast to guides to *Ulysses* from this period, such as Stanley Sultan's oft-cited work of 1964, *The Argument of 'Ulysses'*, which treats Catholicism as a central theme, foundational texts in *Wake* scholarship often neglect it. Perhaps understandably, many of the most substantial and now canonical studies of the book produced in the late fifties and sixties focussed on arming readers with various frameworks with which to approach the work, rather than presenting sustained thematic and/or contextual readings. Works such as Campbell and Robinson's *Skeleton Key*, Glasheen's *Census* (the first edition of which appeared in 1957 and the last in 1977), and the 'guides' by Clive Hart and William York Tindall (published in 1962 and 1969 respectively) rather marginalised Catholicism as a theme at a time when the business of 'decoding' the formidable linguistic and narrative knots of the *Wake* was beginning in earnest.

The most useful of the classics of *Wake* criticism where our understanding of Joyce's treatment of Catholic ritual is concerned is, however, James S. Atherton's *The Books at the Wake*. Atherton devotes a substantial amount of space to a consideration of the role of the 'Sacred Books' in the *Wake*, including a chapter on Joyce's treatment of The Liturgy. As he points out, what Kenner and the authors of the *Skeleton Key* seem to have missed is the ways in which Joyce's last work makes 'a travesty' of certain aspects of The Mass.[25] In this way, Atherton's work complements the less well

question of conversion to anything but rather the greater difficulty of having to surrender one sanctuary through conscience, without being able to replace it immediately with another' [see their *Joyce: the Man, the Work, the Reputation* (New York: New York University Press, 1956), p. 40].

[25] James S. Atherton, *The Books at the Wake: A Study of Literary Allusions in James Joyce's 'Finnegans Wake'* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1974 (1959), p. 185.

substantiated claims of Morse and Ellmann, as he begins to examine, albeit briefly, some of the precise ways in which the *Wake* tears at the very fabric of Catholic worship.

But this more 'conservative' scholarly methodology was clearly not fully appreciated by all parties. As Hart rather disdainfully puts it in the preface to his structural analysis of the *Wake* published in 1962, new 'architectural' criticism of the kind that he invested in was necessary as, according to him, most Joyce critics of this era devoted their attention to 'source-studies and the detailed elucidation of external references'.[26] Hart's comments seem ironic in hindsight. At this point in time the task of source-hunting initiated by Atherton, and to a lesser extent Glasheen, had scarcely begun. The search for Joyce's sources only gained real momentum in the genetic scholarship that took off in the nineties, largely due to increased access to the *Wake* manuscripts and notebooks, which transformed this pursuit into a far more precise art. But while Hart's comments seem unnecessarily fractious on this point, it is clear that at the start of the 1960s readers did require a 'formal' guide that went beyond the limited scope of the *Skeleton Key*, and in this respect the efforts of Glasheen, Hart, and Tindall are both useful and admirable.

With all of this said, it is of course not the case that these more formalist analyses lack *any* Catholic, Christian, or more broadly religious commentary, and naturally enough many important Christian and Catholic motifs do crop up as these writers attempt to 'describe' the narrative design, character, and plot of the densely wrought work. For example, Hart's list of motifs would have been invaluable to anybody attempting to chart the book's use of religious imagery prior to the launch of Roland McHugh's *Annotations* in 1980. It is also the case that alongside this more descriptive approach

[26] Hart, p. 1.

to the book, some consideration of Joyce's overarching 'message', and the *Wake*'s possible spiritual implications, or lack thereof, does occasionally emerge.

For example, in direct contrast to the overtly spiritual reading put forward by Campbell and Robinson, in his guide Tindall ultimately rejects a 'transcendental' reading of the book. Rather, he claims that in Book IV 'the hand emerging from a cloud with a chart [serves] no high purpose' as it is simply 'the hand of a gargoyle or a decoration on time's map'.[27] In a moment of self-confessed 'moderate exaggeration', Tindall goes on to argue for an entirely hermeneutic reading, claiming that '*Finnegans Wake* is about *Finnegans Wake*, less the history of everyman, everywhere, at every time than a commentary on this history of that history'.[28] In my view, Tindall's cyclical Viconian reading is hardly illuminating as it seeks to relegate out of the question the *Wake*'s precise engagement with particular historical themes. However, when it comes to Tindall's acknowledgement of Joyce's ironic approach to theistic themes in Book IV, I do believe that his claims are valid.

Looking beyond these 'reader's guides', one commentary from this era does include some substantial observations in relation to reading the *Wake* in context, and that is Bernard Benstock's 1965 book *Joyce-again's wake*. As I noted in the Introduction, in an earlier essay Benstock usefully calls attention to Joyce's apostatic method in the *Wake*. His approach to the *Wake*'s treatment of Catholicism and Catholic history is, however, naturally more fully developed in the later study. In this study, Benstock acknowledges that the *Wake* often prioritises history over contemporary European politics, but notes that when Joyce does explore recent historical events this is usually done in relation to Irish Catholic concerns, a theme that is actually explored far more extensively in the *Wake* than is War in Europe. Writing in relation to this particular context, Benstock goes on to identify numerous

[27] Tindall, p. 307.
[28] Tindall, pp. 322-3.

references in the book to the events of Easter 1916, to the inception of the Irish Free State, and to its most influential leader Éamon de Valera. He ultimately argues that Joyce's distrust of British Imperialism (something that is illustrated by his portrayal of HCE) goes hand in hand with his critique of the Church of Rome, and indeed all dogmatic institutions.[29]

In many respects this account barely skims the surface when it comes to relating the *Wake*'s cast of characters to a particular set of historical circumstances. But the insights contained therein are nonetheless valuable, and this approach has, in some respects, inspired the more detailed contextual analysis that I undertake in this thesis. Yet despite these strengths, Benstock's approach clearly did not sit comfortably within the mainstream of sixties literary criticism, and it would be another two decades before a historical Joyce really became prominent in the scholarly debate. Rather, new kinds of theoretical readings of the *Wake* were rapidly being produced. It is to this important shift in the academic landscape that I now turn my attentions.

Belief, in theory

The rise of formalism in the Anglo-American academy during the 1950s, coupled with the challenges that were faced by those trying to create any sort of 'key' to this exceptionally demanding work, may well begin to account for the fact that specific questions regarding Joyce's engagement with the Catholic Church were often pushed to one side in *Wake* criticism of the era. The turning of the critical tide in the theoretical 1970s and 1980s, inaugurated by Jacques Lacan's hugely influential lecture '*Joyce le symptôme*', which was delivered at the 1975 Joyce Symposium in Paris,[30] further accounts for the

[29] See Benstock, *passim*.

[30] In a recent account of the history of psychoanalytic Joyce criticism, Luke Thurston has suggested that this lecture

waning critical interest in the topic of Joyce and Catholicism. Lernout's recent survey of the critical history makes a similar point as he argues that in the heyday of theory Joyce's religious views retreated into the background, and even established Catholic critics like Kenner began to adopt a more ambiguous attitude.[31]

But be this as it may, as Lernout pointedly illustrates, Catholic systems of thought were not entirely at odds with the ostensibly radical post-structuralist project. As he puts it, 'it was paradoxically within the heart of French poststructuralist thinking that a new catholic orthodoxy was first spelled out'.[32] According to Lernout, this line of thinking was instigated by one of the architects of the French post-structuralist Joyce, Philippe Sollers, who argued that a return to the Catholic mode of Christianity was necessary as a basis for all serious intellectualism. Though largely confined to France, as Lernout again points out, this 'neo-catholic' approach did have *some* impact on Anglophone criticism. For example, Julia Kristeva's work in this vein was translated into English and made a splash. Furthermore, her student Beryl Schlossman went on to publish *Joyce's Catholic Comedy of Language* (1985)—the only book-length study in English that I am aware of that considers Joyce's 'Catholicism' from an explicitly post-structuralist perspective.[33]

In many respects Schlossman's book seems to be an anomaly. She wrote about Joyce and Catholicism at a time when this subject was largely out of favour with Anglophone post-structuralist Joyceans. She also devoted the bulk of her study to the *Wake*, the Catholic elements of which have so

---

represents the defining moment for the 'chiasmic exchange' that took place in the mid-seventies between the Lacanian and Joycean worlds. See Luke Thurston, 'Psychoanalysis', in *James Joyce in Context*, ed. by John McCourt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 88-98 (p. 93).

[31] Lernout, p. 16.

[32] Lernout, *ibid.*

[33] See Lernout, *ibid.* A further, but much later, example of a classically post-structuralist approach to Joyce's religiosity is Steven John Morrison's thesis 'Heresy, Heretics and Heresiarchs in the Works of James Joyce (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1999). Morrison argues for Joyce's 'spiritual duality' claiming that he could function as both a believer and unbeliever simultaneously. This reading chooses to ignore Joyce's continuing apostasy, and rejection of Catholic beliefs, in his mature life and works, by suggesting that he always kept one foot in the faith.

often been neglected. Yet despite the ostensibly unique nature of this study, it is worth noting that in some respects her 'sacred' interpretation of the *Wake*, which seeks to understand the book as a linguistic enactment of the Paschal mystery, in many respects mirrors the logic of the only other significant contribution to the study of the *Wake* and Catholicism to be produced during this period, Father Robert Boyle's 1978 book, *James Joyce's Pauline Vision.*

Turning first to Schlossman, her book relies throughout on the language of Derridean deconstruction in order to 'disrupt' the reductive binary notion that Joyce can be understood either as an apostate or as an obedient Catholic. Schlossman does not clarify why firm assertions regarding Joyce's religious allegiances are particularly reductive, but it is clear that, for her, common sense, evidence-based arguments will not do. According to this critic, the 'Passion of the Word' (a phrase that Schlossman appears to use in order to invoke both the infinite power attributed to language within deconstructive thought, and the sacred power of Scripture) can be considered 'fully Catholic only when it is outside the boundaries of the Church'.[34] By this, Schlossman appears to mean to express that Joyce's forceful rejection of the institution of the Catholic Church in Ireland does not undermine the fundamental spiritual core, or 'Passion', of the Wakean Word.

Boyle's work might lack the gloss of avant-garde theoretical jargon that litters Schlossman's prose, but the conclusions of the two critics are remarkably similar. Boyle takes as his starting point the Wakean phrase, 'what can't be coded can be decorded if an ear aye seize what no eye ere grieved for' (482.34-6) and reads this passage in relation to the words of St. Paul, echoing Isaiah, relating to man's inability to comprehend the true nature of God's love: 'What no eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived, what God has prepared for those who love him' (I Corinthians 2:9).

[34] Beryl Schlossman, *Joyce's Catholic Comedy of Language* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), p. ix.

Incidentally, the two phrases that Boyle chooses to compare do not actually map onto each other particularly well, and in my view the phrase in question is more likely to have been inspired by two proverbs: 'what can't be proved, can't be disproved', and 'what the eye doesn't see, the heart can't grieve over'. But Boyle's insistence on reading this passage in relation to the Pauline text is symptomatic of his broader approach, which he describes as 'a consideration of Joyce's deeper use, and his decreasingly acrimonious toleration, of religious and specifically Catholic doctrines and attitudes to express his own literary theory'.[35] It is interesting to note that Boyle reaches precisely the opposite conclusion to Morse with regards to Joyce's spiritual development, arguing that in the *Wake* Joyce rediscovers spirituality rather than rejecting it. As is the case with Schlossman, Boyle is determined to find an affirmative, spiritual message within prose that ostensibly rejects the Church and its teachings. However, neither critic provides enough textual or contextual evidence to clinch their respective arguments.

Historical Turns

Post-structuralist readings of the Joycean 'Word' may have been on the ascent in the late seventies and eighties, but a whole host of both complementary and contradictory paradigms were to come to the forefront of Joyce studies as the twentieth century drew to a close, complicating the nature of the critical scene yet further. These included, most prominently, such movements as French feminism, New Historicism and postcolonialism. From this albeit partial list, it is the last two theoretical modes that are most relevant to the study of Joyce and Catholicism in the present day. However, it is

[35] Boyle, p. x.

important to note that questions relating to the precise nature of Joyce's engagement with the Roman Catholic Church, particularly in an Irish setting, have received far less critical attention than Joyce's engagement with Irish nationalism and its battle with the Imperial British state in recent historicist and postcolonial criticism.

In the major studies from the nineties that adopted an explicitly historicist and/or postcolonial approach—namely James Fairhall's *James Joyce and the Question of History* (1993), Emer Nolan's *James Joyce and Nationalism* (1995), and Vincent J. Cheng's *Joyce, Race, and Empire* (1995)—Catholicism functions as a minor or subsidiary theme in relation to the major colonial battle. Of these writers it is Fairhall who provides the most substantial and useful accounts of the role of the Church, but his comments are largely limited to a consideration of the earlier writings, and of the Parnell crisis.[36] Such absences are, on the surface at least, surprising. Yet as Gareth Joseph Downes has convincingly and provocatively argued in a fairly recent essay that attempts to understand these gaps, it is likely that a motivating force behind the neglect of the subject of Joyce and Catholicism from a historicist and postcolonial perspective is the ways in which, 'a discussion of the ambivalent relationship [of the Catholic Church] with both the emergent forces of Irish cultural and political nationalism and the dominant forces of the imperial British state, arguably overcomplicates the theoretical paradigms of postcolonialism, and cannot easily be considered in its scrutiny of the binary oppositions at work in the colonial situation'.[37] Put simply, the Irish Catholic Church as a symbol of both national identity and of Roman and British imperial authority cannot be easily assimilated into the postcolonial model. It is therefore best ignored or at least marginalised.

---

[36] See James Fairhall, *James Joyce and the Question of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 123-46.
[37] Gareth Joseph Downes, '"A Terrible Heretic": James Joyce and Catholicism', in *Critical Ireland: New Essays in Literature and Culture*, ed. by Aaron Kelly and Alan A. Gillis (Dublin: Four Courts, 2001), pp. 55-62 (pp. 56-7).

The issues named by Downes as obstacles to the incorporation of Joyce's relationship with the Church into a postcolonial model of reading become apparent in Andrew Gibson's slightly later account of *Ulysses* in *Joyce's Revenge* (2002). In order to accommodate the role of the Irish Catholic Church into the postcolonial paradigm, Gibson adopts an approach that often seems to rely on the sort of binary logic that Downes takes issue with, placing emphasis on the ways in which Joyce appears to accuse the Church in Ireland of being 'the political accomplice of the [British] State'.[38] Gibson is of course correct in asserting that the problem of complicity with Britain constitutes an important element of Joyce's treatment of the Irish Catholic Church, particularly in the early writings. For example, in the Christmas dinner scene of *A Portrait,* the Irish Catholic Church is clearly categorised by both Casey and Dedalus senior as an institution that has 'sold out' the nationalist cause to Britain in return for other gains. It is equally true that a fairly blunt and heavy-handed divide between the agendas of Church and Nation infuses Joyce's early Trieste journalism. In the articles 'Home Rule Comes of Age' (1907) and 'The Shade of Parnell' (1912) Parnell emerges, mythos intact, as the extraordinary leader of men who was ultimately betrayed by both his own party and the ever unreliable and self-interested Church. In the first of these articles we hear of the way in which Gladstone, with the assistance of the Irish bishops, 'completed the moral assassination of Parnell' (*CW*, 193), and in the second of the way in which the 'clergy entered the lists to finish him off' (*CW*, 228). This position is, in addition, arguably communicated in a more subtle manner in *Ulysses* via the portrayal of clerics such as Fr. Conmee who, according to Gibson, can be viewed as an Anglicised social climber.

However, as I have already outlined in the Introduction, despite a number of breakdowns of the Clerical-Nationalist alliance in the second half of the nineteenth century, by the time Joyce came of

[38] Andrew Gibson, *Joyce's Revenge: History, Politics and Aesthetics in 'Ulysses'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 84.

age, the Church and the national movement had become absolutely intertwined, or more accurately re-entwined. The nature of this alliance, which was destined to strengthen rather than weaken as the twentieth century marched on, renders any attempt to separate the terms Catholic and Nationalist highly problematic. With this in mind, it is my contention that within the *Wake*, the place where Joyce is able to take a much longer and broader historical view when it comes to the nature of the Irish Church, a straightforwardly postcolonial reading that attempts to characterise Irish Catholic clerics as puppets of the Imperial British State is particularly inappropriate. Such an approach might fit with some of the more naïve assertions made in both the early non-fiction and in *A Portrait*, and it is also possible to extrapolate such an interpretation for *Ulysses*. But when it comes to the *Wake*, it is clear that within Joyce's extensive and damning portrait of Shaun lies a brutal satire of the priesthood that is distinctly 'home grown' in its nature, an idea that I explore extensively in Chapter 2.

A postcolonial reader like Gibson has, then, attempted to assimilate the role of the Catholic Church into the postcolonial model by flagging the ways in which Joyce links the operations of the Irish Catholic hierarchy to the political agenda of the Imperial British State. In contrast, some recent critics have approached the problem from the opposite angle, seeking to emphasise the ways in which Catholicism constitutes an integral part of Irish national experience. Such approaches have sought to recast Joyce's relationship with his native faith in at least a semi-positive light in order to understand this faith as an important facet of Joyce's national identity in the face of colonial oppression.

In an essay that takes this tendency to an extreme, Eamonn Hughes has argued that, as an Irishman, 'the roots of Joyce's concept of freedom are in Catholicism'. In Hughes' hands, the deeply conservative brand of Catholicism practised in Ireland around the turn of the last century, a mode of religious expression that has already been discussed in some detail in the Introduction, is transformed

into a potentially deconstructive force that is more readily able to embrace notions of 'both/ and' rather than 'either/or'.[39] Hughes' essay is symptomatic of a broader critical tendency to imagine the Ireland in which Joyce was raised as the most idiosyncratic and unorthodox branch of the Church of Rome. As previously discussed, this conceit rightly identifies the local variants that make up the ostensibly 'universal' or 'catholic' Church. However, such assertions do, in my view, tend to marginalize the manner in which almost all religious cultures have evolved and adapted to suit local needs. Equally idiosyncratic instances of the practice of Roman Catholicism might include the Mexican Church, and the Catholicism practised by the Roma of Eastern Europe, to allude to just two examples. As I have again touched upon in the Introduction, a further issue with such an approach is the manner in which the 'unique' nature of the Irish Church is somehow conflated with its more positive status in Joyce's eyes.

If, as Lernout has recently queried, Hughes' essay is not a hoax, then the ways in which it perverts the logic of Joyce's sustained attack upon dogmatic, Catholic Christianity is barely comprehensible. For Hughes, the 'net' of Catholicism that the young Stephen Dedalus must 'fly by' in order to liberate himself becomes the netted wings by which he might propel himself upwards and through the air, a reading that constitutes a convoluted grammatical distortion of the logic of the passage in question.[40] Yet this essay is not an anomaly and Madeline Parsons, an admirer of Hughes' work, has recently come to a similar, albeit less extreme, set of conclusions in relation to *Ulysses*, when she contends that ultimately Catholicism constitutes a crucial aspect of Joyce's 'tribal' identity that must be understood in at least semi-positive terms. As she puts it, 'no, as Joyce makes abundantly clear

[39] Eamonn Hughes, 'Joyce and Catholicism', in *Irish Writers and Religion*, ed. by Robert Welch (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1992), pp. 116 – 137, p. 131.
[40] Lernout, p. 20.

in his fiction and in his critical writings, the religion of his tribe, whatever its faults, is infinitely superior in its theology and moral values "to anything the opposite shop could offer"' (*U*, 16.1742), a reading that relies for its validation on the kind of sectarian, nationalist logic that Joyce so forcefully rejects.[41]

To these recent attempts at re-imagining Joyce's approach to Catholicism in a more ameliorative light should be added Mary Lowe-Evans' 2008 book *Catholic Nostalgia in Joyce and Company*. In this study, Lowe-Evans attempts to draw a series of parallels between certain 'Joycean practices' and the notion of Catholic nostalgia. She mentions, for example, Joyce's interest in digging up and redressing even painful and abhorrent memories, which she compares to the Roman Catholic practice of examining one's conscience. She further goes on to discuss Joyce's complex 'Mother Lode' in relation to the devotion to a mother figure that is a feature of Catholic Mariology. In addition, Lowe-Evans views Joyce's ability to 'convert' individuals such as Hugh Kenner and Thomas Merton as an important facet of the nostalgic quality of his works, an interpretation that I would suggest lays too much emphasis on idiosyncratic reader responses. These discussions do, moreover, lead Lowe-Evans to the broad assertion that,

> on balance, notwithstanding the heretical stances Joyce often adopted, his forays into his Catholic past, as often as not, enable rather than dismantle the institutional church, inviting an entanglement in rather than liberation from the labyrinthine ways of Catholic theological exposition.[42]

[41] Madeline Parsons, 'James Joyce, *Ulysses* and the Culture of Irish Catholicism (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2009), p. 316.
[42] Mary Lowe-Evans, *Catholic Nostalgia in Joyce and Company* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2008), p. 8.

The claim that Joyce's work serves to enable the institution of Catholicism is, as I have maintained throughout, deeply problematic. This is a critical reaction that I return to more substantially in Chapter 3, particularly with regards to Lowe-Evans' claims regarding Joyce's attitude towards modern Mariology.

Before moving on, it should be noted that not all recent historical commentaries that consider Joyce's relationship with Catholic Ireland entangle themselves quite so thoroughly in the questions of national identity that are central to the ways in which Gibson, Hughes, and Parsons approach the work. A key example of a historicist reading that avoids this pitfall is Cheryl Herr's study of 1986, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture,* which provides an extremely informative discussion of the ways in which Jaun's sermonising lecture of Chapter III.2 can be understood in the light of the conventions of the pulpit that dominated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that steers clear of postcolonial frameworks. In Chapter 2 of this thesis, I go on to challenge some of the finer points of Herr's contextualisation of Jaun's sermon, and suggest some alternative historical sources for his Lenten lecture. Nevertheless, the understanding of Chapter III.2 as a passage that should be read in relation to very specific Church historical circumstances is one that I broadly agree with, and a notion that I develop further in my own commentary on this portion of the *Wake*.

A Game of Unbelief

As we have seen, questions of belief and unbelief, conformity and rebellion, were central to the debate over Joyce and Catholicism in the earliest biographical and critical works. However, such questions faded into the background in the wake of formalism, then post-structuralism, as a focus on

ambivalence and indeterminacy became the norm. Yet a turning of the critical tide is perhaps now in progress, and in the two most recent studies to be published on the topic of Joyce and religion, namely Roy Gottfried's *Joyce's Misbelief* (2008) and Geert Lernout's *Help My Unbelief* (2010) a firmer vocabulary has in fact emerged. This is a vocabulary that calls attention to Joyce's dismissal of Catholic orthodoxy, and his often-polemical opposition to the institution of the Church of Rome.

Throughout, both critics identify a number of potentially useful sources of inspiration for Joyce's rejection of the faith, although Lernout's research is more original. In his study, Gottfried reiterates Robert Scholes' discovery that Joyce made a transcription of the Revelation of St. John from the King James Version of the New Testament, and Thomas Connolly's observation that he possessed two copies of the Book of Common Prayer.[43] These facts he uses as evidence of Joyce's leaning towards what he calls the 'literary advantages' of Protestantism.[44] As previously noted, Lernout also lists a number of works that possibly inspired Joyce's dissent, including a book by George Tyrrell, work by the figure head of Biblical Modernism Alfred Loisy, and other prominent French 'Modernists' such as Lucien Laberthonière and Maurice Blondel.[45]

The general usefulness of Lernout's approach has already been outlined, and therefore this work will not be substantially revisited at this point. But, as intimated in the Introduction, Gottfried's account of Joyce's 'misbelief' will stand some further scrutiny. A particular issue with Gottfried, and this is true of Lernout's work to a lesser extent, is the manner in which he seeks to align Joyce with the established Protestant tradition of dissent. Moreover, this conceit leads Gottfried to the troubling

---

[43] See Gottfried, *passim.*

[44] Gottfried also comments on Stephen's critique of the Anglican marriage service as evinced in an argument between himself and Lynch in *Stephen Hero* as evidence in support of this point. Joyce's mockery of the man who would commit himself to another until death is hardly something that affirms his investment in this version of marriage rites. However, the reference does demonstrate his familiarity with the Anglican rite that was later expunged from *A Portrait* (see Gottfried, p. 85).

[45] See Gottfried, pp. 66-73; p. 36, and Lernout, *passim.*

assumption that Joyce was provocatively allied with Britain as the dominant imperial culture.[46] Not only does it worryingly place Joyce on the side of the colonising nation, it is an idea for which no firm evidence exists.

In order to bolster his hypothesis, throughout his study Gottfried places no little emphasis on Joyce's 'preference' for the King James Bible (as opposed to the Latin Vulgate or Douay translation) and for the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, but in some instances Gottfried's claims that Joyce made recourse to 'schismatic' English versions of the Bible are tenuous to say the least. His commentary on the verse that Heron tells Stephen to parody in *A Portrait* (Matthew 18:17) makes much of a perceived difference between the phrase as it appears in the Douay ('let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican'), in the King James ('let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican'), and the novel's 'let him be to theea as the heathena and the publicana' (*P,* 76). As can be plainly seen, in actuality all three versions are incredibly similar. The schoolboy version is clearly intended as a humorous distortion mimicking speech, rather than an entirely accurate transcription, something that could easily account for the slight variation. In any case, the phrase in question is so well known that it seems unlikely that Joyce would have needed to make reference to any printed source. The same might be said of a number of allusions that, as Gottfried would have it, arise from an interest in the Book of Common Prayer. For example, Gottfried attaches great importance to Joyce's various puns on the phrase 'until death us do part',[47] a vow that is, and was then, so culturally ubiquitous that its inclusion in the *Wake* is hardly proof one way or the other that Joyce had a particular interest in the Book of Common Prayer.

[46] See Gottfried, p. 26.
[47] See Gottfried, pp. 86-7.

In this and in other examples (e.g., Gerty's reflection on the marriage service at *U*, 15.357-85) Gottfried envisions a Joyce who errs on the side of Anglicanism owing to its more 'open' acknowledgement of the connection between marriage and economics, a sense of 'honesty' that he detects in Gerty's garbled remembrance of the words 'with all my worldly goods I thee and thou' (*U*, 15.375).[48] The notion of the Anglican Church as an 'open' system is a questionable one to say the least. Moreover, Gottfried's characterisation of Joyce as a man in sympathy with the Anglican establishment does not do justice to the mature Joyce's devastating take on the Protestant tradition. His typically humorous dismantling of established religion is neatly illustrated for instance in the *Wake* by a number of puns relating to the 'Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion' that define the Church of England, the stuttering HCE's 'dudud dirtynine articles' (534.12). It could of course be said that the rebellious and schismatic history of European Protestantism might well have appealed to Joyce's interests. But this is a far cry for stating that Joyce actually invested in this system of ideology and theology.

Despite his earlier attempts to align Joyce with Protestantism, Gottfried admits as much in a somewhat self-contradictory move in his final chapter, where he qualifies his argument by stating the limits of Protestantism for Joyce. He contends that for Joyce no monolithic system could ever be allowed to dominate, as it is the act of schism itself that is central to his practice.[49] What these schismatic acts might amount to in terms of an overarching political or artistic agenda is not made clear, but this is absolutely understandable given the consistently anti-didactic nature of the work.

In my view, this point is a crucial one. Throughout these introductory chapters I have been at pains to stress the polemical and precise nature of Joyce's attack on Church authority in the *Wake*, but it is also the case that no coherent counter-system of religion or politics is put forward to replace that

[48] See Gottfried, p. 88.
[49] See Gottfried, p. 118.

which has been dismantled. It is this very reluctance to dictate that may well have led to the unusual amount of ambivalence with which the topic of Joyce and Catholicism is often approached. But to my mind, the book's lack of determinacy and resolution does not, and should not, disqualify more precise readings of Joyce's combative relationship with the Catholic Church in the *Wake*, particularly as this is considered in relation to the fate of the individual.

The fate of the individual in society is a key theme, and one that has often been neglected. It is with this lack in mind that this thesis sets out to interrogate some of the ways in which the *Wake*'s central cast of characters, characters who come to represent many different strands of the human experience, relate to the culture of Irish Catholicism. While acknowledging the dangers of attempting to discern the *Wake*'s 'message', my commentary will ultimately provide some reflection upon the ways in which these more local or individual acts of acceptance and rejection might reflect Joyce's own vision of Catholic Ireland's historical nightmare, and the possibilities for disruption and indeed historical repetition that the book might gesture towards.

'The as yet unremuneranded

national apostate' (171.32-3)

Shem

As I have argued in the Critical Survey, a consistent feature of the *Wake*'s method, particularly with regards to its treatment of religious questions, is the manner in which Joyce refuses to assert a coherent counter-theology or philosophy with which to combat the dogmatic dictates of Catholicism, a belief system that he so clearly opposes. Joyce's rejection of didactic modes does, moreover, translate into the very structure of the work, and throughout the book the reader is constantly denied substantial access to the voice of Shem, a figure who as an artist is, in most critical appraisals, thought to be the character most closely aligned with Joyce. This frustration is further pronounced in Chapter I.7, a section of the work that is ostensibly concerned with Shem, but that in actuality, as Fordham reminds us, is dominated by the voice of the bullish Shaun, who embarks upon a bigoted assassination of his brother's character.[1]

With that said, Shem's voice is not necessarily completely absent in this portion of the work, and from the reader's perspective it is something of a relief to find embedded within this chapter at least one sentence that appears to constitute a maxim for Shem's art. This statement might, furthermore, on one level aid in our understanding of the existence of the *Wake* in the first place, as the passage in question is concerned with the impetus behind a unique kind of literary creation. This sequence begins with Shaun's crude description of his brother scrawling upon his own flesh, using his own faeces as a

[1] Fordham, p. 39.

substitute for ink, but includes the following parenthetical aside that is allegedly a report of Shem's own explanation of his actions:

> Thereby, he said, reflecting from his own individual person life unlivable, transaccidentated through the slow fires of consciousness into a dividual chaos, perilous, potent, common to allflesh, human only, mortal (186.3-6).

Given the profound, or at least pseudo-profound, register adopted here, it is perhaps unsurprising that this passage has provoked a number of responses that might be understood as Christian, or at least 'spiritual' in a broader sense of the word, the most influential of which is probably Fr. Boyle's. As previously observed, Boyle's criticism is often concerned with retrieving a Christian message from aspects of the work that appear to have precisely the opposite intent, and this is also the case here. In his grandiose reading of this 'cloacal' scenario, Shem's 'gift to his people', i.e. his literary output, is made to appear as something akin to Christ offering up his own body, as Boyle claims that the entire scenario of Shem writing on his skin represents an analogy in which 'the artist gives himself in his ink to his hearers and seers', rendering all of the intensity of what is 'common to allflesh, human only' available to them.[2] In this account, the fact that Joyce chooses to depict a gross display of bodily waste matter, rather than a glorious sacrifice, is pushed to one side.

A similar logic also underpins a commentary provided by J.L. Baird and Coílín Owens on the same passage, which compares the image of Shem writing in faeces upon his own body to the imagery found in a number of pre-modern Passion narratives. Admittedly this reading is more illuminating and precise than Boyle's, and Baird and Owens cite a number of examples in which Christ's blood is used

[2] Robert Boyle, 'The Artist as Balzacian Wild Ass', in *A Conceptual Guide to 'Finnegans Wake'*, ed. by Michael H. Begnal and Fritz Senn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974), pp. 71-82 (p. 73).

metaphorically as a substitute for ink, a motif that recurs in the earlier tradition. These include such works as Chaucer's 'An ABC', a work that Lucia Joyce illustrated for a bespoke edition, and which contains a description of Christ 'with his precious blood [writing] the bille/ Upon the crois'; the early fourteenth century poet William Herebert's lines 'for Love the chartre wrot/ And the enke [ink] orn [ran] of his wounde'; an unattributed fifteenth century piece entitled 'Meditations on the Life and Passion of Christ', which describes the Saviour writing on 'his body with harde nailes', and finally, Digby's *The Burial of Christ*, a play in which Mary Magdalene and Joseph of Arimathea describe Christ's lifeless body as a parchment that is stretched out of shape, upon which many bloody letters are inscribed.[3] Yet despite the obvious deflation that has occurred in substituting Christ's blood for Shem's shit, the message here is understood to be an exalted one. In a manner that mirrors Boyle, Baird and Owens conclude their essay with a claim for the 'essential integrity, clarity, and radiance' of Shem's words, terms derived from Stephen's somewhat distorted account of the values that Aquinas attributes to the aesthetic object in *A Portrait*.[4]

Both of the examples cited above illustrate a critical tendency to rarefy the passage in question as one of the *Wake*'s most important statements of artistic and philosophic intent, regardless of the Shaunish voice that dominates, and the distinctly inglorious nature of the medium for writing that is being described. This approach is, however, taken to something of an extreme in Mark Patrick Hederman's study, *The Haunted Inkwell*. For Hederman, there is no doubt that Shem the Penman is a portrait of Joyce himself, and that this passage is a justification for the method of the *Wake*, an aesthetic endeavour that has 'redefined the limits of humanity and extended temporal existence into

[3] J.L. Baird and Coílín Owens, 'Shem as Crucified Word: FW 185-6', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 14.3 (1977), 251-4, *passim*.
[4] Baird and Owens, p. 253.

another dimension'.[5] In Hederman's hands, this passage becomes a kind of divine revelation for humanity, in which the figure of the creative writer is hailed as a new sort of Messiah, capable of transforming the boundaries imposed by time and space.[6]

As I have previously argued, readings that understand the *Wake* as a theological, or more broadly spiritual, work are often problematic, and in my view frequently neglect the larger concerns of the book. At the more local level of interpretation such a reading does, moreover, seem to be particularly inapplicable to the passage at hand. The fact that the version of events recalled here is mediated via Shaun immediately causes us to question the agenda of this particular account. Yet even if we read this passage 'straight' as an unbiased report of Shem's manifesto, the message remains bleak. In contrast to the ambitious claim of the young artist in *A Portrait*, when he declared that as 'a priest of eternal imagination' he would '[transmute] the daily bread of experience into the radiant body of everliving life' (*P*, 221), here the nature of the process of transformation described is dramatically different.

The life that Shem 'transaccidentates' via his consciousness is not the 'radiant' vision that Stephen dreams of, but rather a 'dividual chaos' (i.e. a chaos that is both individual and divisable). The term 'transaccidentates' itself relates to an ancient debate over the elemental nature of the Eucharist during the celebration of Mass, something that has been explored in further detail by Fordham.[7] This debate is tangled and often fantastical, but, in sum, the notion of transaccidentation undercuts the orthodox belief in transubstantiation, the claim that the holy wafer of unleavened bread can transform into the Body of Christ without its 'accidents' (i.e. material properties) changing also, by suggesting

[5] Mark Patrick Hederman, *The Haunted Inkwell* (Dublin: Columba, 2001), p. 151.
[6] See Hederman, p. 157.
[7] See Fordham, pp. 47-8.

that Christ's body must be physically present in the change also. In this instance, the life that has been generated by this material shift is not an everliving one—the eternal life brought about by the sacrifice on the cross— but something that is fragile and transitory, a sense that comes through in the terms 'perilous' and 'mortal'. Shem's writing here ultimately constitutes a portrait of something flesh-bound rather than spiritual, 'human only'.

With these complexities and subversions in mind, this chapter sets out to provide a re-examination of Joyce's portrait of the artist as relayed by Shaun in Chapter I.7 in a manner that seeks to understand more fully the impact of the layers of narrative mediation at work, and indeed the impact of this distinctly pessimistic vision of the 'artist-hero' in terms of the work's broader concerns. In keeping with my established approach in this thesis, this case study seeks to look beyond 'higher', transcendental concerns, and to understand this character assassination of the artist in relation to Joyce's broader critique of Irish Catholic culture. The boundary between religious discourse proper, and social manifestations of religious allegiance, is often slippery, and this is particularly true in Chapter I.7, where the religious and political collide. Therefore, in order to interrogate the dynamics of this chapter's engagement with Irish Catholic culture as fully as possible, the following pages will take a three-pronged approach.

Firstly, I consider the chapter's rather idiosyncratic approach to heretical sources from the distant and more immediate past. Heresy might not be a central topic for this thesis, which primarily focuses on the social and cultural aspects of Joyce's presentation of Irish Catholic experience, but this topic must be considered at this juncture as it is a striking feature of the aesthetic of the chapter as a whole, and one that, as I demonstrate in relation to Joyce's source material, might be more historically immediate than initially seems to be the case. Secondly, I turn to the pronounced manner in which the

chapter mimics Irish Catholic nationalist ideology in its portrayal of recent violent struggles in Ireland, something that in Shaun's eyes becomes conflated with Shem's religious failings. Finally, I consider the manner in which the chapter's portrayal of the degraded, inactive artist might relate to Joyce's specific concerns for the future of the intellectual in the fledgling Irish state.

'*Hearasay in paradox lust*' (263.L05)

As discussed in the Introduction, the designation of Joyce as a heretic is problematic as it characterises him, in the Church's own terms, as one who rejects certain points of Church dogma, but who ultimately always retains the Christian faith—a description that is questionable at best. This observation is not, however, intended to discount heresy as an important theme in the Joycean *oeuvre*. We know that the author created at least semi-autobiographical characters that engage sympathetically with the idea of heresy, even if they do not fully embrace the role of heretic themselves. We might, for example, recall Stephen's oft-cited reflection before Haines, in which he appears to identify with the plight of rebels like Photius, Arius, Valentine and Sabellius, a horde of heretics that he imagines, in their religious regalia, 'fleeing with mitres awry', under the watchful eye of a militant, menacing Church, determined to defend its claim to authority until the end (*U*, 1.650-64). As I have again suggested in the Introduction, heresy is potentially a crucial theme for the *Wake* also. As noted above, Joyce's frequent allusions to heresies and heretics of the past illustrate his understanding of Church history as a 'jagged line' rather than an unbroken apostolic tradition: a history in which conflicts, schisms and subsequent regroupings have occurred, causing the 'absolute' doctrines of the Church to be on occasion revised.

A further aspect of the *Wake*'s heretical theme that has not been considered thus far, and one that has been given critical consideration since the earliest days of *Wake* scholarship, is the importance attached to Giordano Bruno, the heresiarch of Nola. Joyce had an interest in this figure from as far back as his university days, and his 1901 essay 'The Day of the Rabblement' is dedicated to 'the Nolan'. Moreover, this interest persisted in the mature years, and what is probably Joyce's best known statement about Bruno he wrote in a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver in May 1926. With regards to the theories of both Bruno and Vico, he stated that 'I would not pay overmuch attention to these theories beyond using them for all they are worth' (*SL*, 241). The connection between the *Wake* and Bruno was further canonized in Beckett's contribution to the *Exagmination*, 'Dante… Bruno. Vico.. Joyce', in which Beckett describes Bruno's 'treatment of identified contraries' as a source of inspiration for Vico's cyclical model of history.[8]

The importance of Bruno for Joyce has been considered in detail in two recent studies of the *Wake* by Steven John Morrison and Gareth Joseph Downes, and therefore it would not be worthwhile to rehearse again a thorough account at this juncture.[9] Yet it is pertinent to briefly state here the special importance that Joyce attached to this figure, and the manner in which Bruno appears to have been privileged ahead of other historical heretics. Given Joyce's distaste for modes of dogmatic Christianity, his professed enthusiasm for Bruno might be accounted for by the sheer distance between Bruno's philosophy and mainstream Christian thought. Indeed, when it comes to Bruno's radical pantheism, it is hard to locate this philosophy within the Christian tradition at all. Despite this fact, it is not possible to detect many instances of sustained, serious, theological inquiry in the *Wake*, Brunonian or not.

---

[8] Samuel Beckett, 'Dante... Bruno .Vico ..Joyce', in *Our Exagmination Round his Factification for Incamination of 'Work in Progress'*, by Samuel Beckett *et al* (London: Faber and Faber, 1929, rpt 1960), pp. 1-22 (p. 5).

[9] The bibliographic details for Morrison's thesis have been cited in the Introduction. See also Gareth Joseph Downes, 'James Joyce, Catholicism and Heresy: With Specific Reference to Giordano Bruno' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St. Andrews, 2003).

However, ideas associated with the philosophy of 'the Nolan' are employed beyond the theological realm in the *Wake*. In terms of the book's underlying structural devices, Bruno's concern with the coincidence and contagion of opposites—an aspect of his philosophy that is derived from Nicholas of Cusa—is one that Joyce exploited for aesthetic purposes time and again, often, it seems, as a means of illustrating the slippery and contaminated nature of human identity.

A final point in relation to the *Wake*'s broader treatment of heretical themes is the fact that, at the rare moments when Joyce does dwell on the details of heretical systems of thought other than Bruno's, this motif is most frequently associated with HCE and the nature of his sin or crime, rather than with Shem. A pertinent example of this device is the long list of accusations and justifications for HCE that appears at pp. 358.36-359.20, a passage that has been discussed in some detail by Vincent Deane.[10] As Deane notes, this list appears to be derived from a series of charges laid against the heretic Caelestius (a disciple of the better known Pelagius) at the Synod of Carthage in 418 A.D., regarding his disagreement with the Church's understanding of the notion of Original Sin—a list that Joyce had taken from an article in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* about Pelagianism. In this context, however, the primary 'sin' in question is not Adam's fall, but HCE's alleged activities in Phoenix Park.

Perhaps at moments like this we are simply seeing HCE in his most 'Shem-ish' aspect, as a more mature version of the rebellious child that we meet in Book II, and again in Chapter III.4. Yet it is important to note that even at moments like this, when Joyce does choose to linger over the details of heretical theology, he chooses not to engage with the tenets of the original debate over the nature of Christian redemption, but rather transforms his notes from the *Catholic Encyclopedia* into a thoroughly

[10] See Vincent Deane, 'HCE and the Fall of Pelagius', in*: 'Finnegans Wake': Fifty Years*, *European Joyce Studies 2*, ed. by Geert Lernout (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1990), pp. 190-23.

human drama. Here this becomes a debate over HCE's culpability for his crime, or lack thereof, as discussed by the customers in his pub.

But returning to Shem, it is of course this 'schystimatically auricular' (157.22) character that has most frequently been associated with the idea of heresy, a connection that makes sense given the manner in which this character is often portrayed as a subversive rebel. Furthermore, when it comes to a reading of Chapter I.7, on the surface at least, Shaun's account appears to bear out this link. At the start of the 'Justius' section of the chapter, the part of the chapter that Shaun himself claims is the most direct, Shem's brother confidently proclaims the he is an 'anarch, egoarch, hiresiarch' (188.16). This association is firmed up by the fact that a parade of heretics, heresies and dissenting views feature throughout, including allusions to the heretics Cornelius Jansen (173.12), Caelestius (178.35), Pelagius (182.3), Bruno of Nola (187.28) and Marcion (192.1-2), along with heresies such as Gnosticism (170.11), Antinomianism (172.17; 184.36), and the Albigensian heresy (173.13), and allusions to unorthodox sects like the Quakers (170.9) and the Bohemian Brethren (170.10), most but not all of which are accurately annotated by McHugh.[11]

The inclusion of allusions to so many breaks with orthodoxy within a relatively short space would seem to suggest that this discourse is crucial for the passage in question. However, the more one delves, the harder it becomes to understand the nature of Shem's so-called heresy. As I illustrated at the

[11] The following discrepancies can be found in McHugh (see the corresponding pages in his *Annotations*): he categorises Quakerism as simply a 'heresy', when by Joyce's day George Fox's 'Society of Friends' was a well-established sect and often referred to as a religion in its own right; he neglects to annotate the allusion to Caelestius contained in the phrase 'the celestious intemperance' at 178.35, and he inaccurately describes Marcion as a heretic who 'believed he was Christ', an epithet that does not do justice to this theologian's complex dualist approach to the Old and New Testaments, which postulates that the God of the Old Testament was not the God who was the father of Christ [the most thorough recent exploration of Marcion's often misrepresented dualism is Sabastian Moll's *The Arch-Heretic Marcion* (Philadelphia, PA: Coronet, 2010)]. It is also worth noting that McHugh detects a reference to the Celestine heresy in Justius' claim that Shaun and/or himself has been 'well-known to celestine circles' (191.15), but given that this phrase occurs in the course of an adulating description of a Shaunish figure it seems more likely that, looking beyond the obvious pun on the word 'celestial', the primary historical allusion is to the Papal name Celestine.

start of this chapter, the only possible glimpse of the intent underpinning Shem's literary art that Joyce chooses to provide is Shaun's deeply suspicious report of his brother's words. In addition, when Shaun as Justius does directly attempt to articulate his brother's sins against faith as the chapter draws to a close, the actual substance of his accusations remains extremely vague. A reference to 'fornenst gods' is perhaps intended to invoke a kind of Brunonian pantheism. But the only concrete claim that emerges from Shaun-Justius' diatribe in relation to Shem's alleged heresy is the fact of his brother's doubt itself, his 'twosome twiminds' forged on the 'vacuum' of his 'most intensely doubtful soul' (188.14-7). This love of incertitude represents the method, rather than the substance, of heretical discourse.

A curious contradiction then becomes apparent. Despite the chapter's prominent heretical *leitmotif*, substantial heretical ideas are, in the main, absent. This observation is, moreover, borne out to a certain degree by the archive. An investigation of the *Wake* notebooks gives the distinct impression that Joyce's exploration of heretical themes as he developed the *Work in Progress* was not nearly so thoroughgoing as critics might have previously assumed, and indeed that convenience and serendipity often played a role in his choices. These surviving notes in some respects tend to support Denis Donoghue's claim that '[Joyce's] work shows little of that love of wisdom which constitutes the philosophic habit', a claim that Hederman forcefully repudiates.[12] This is not, of course, to say that Joyce is incapable of grand philosophical thought, inspired by a tradition of challenging philosophy and/or theology. But rather that his habits differ significantly from those that we would traditionally associate with the philosophic mind-set. Instead of covering a theme comprehensively in order to synthesise the evidence, and eventually arrive at a greater truth, Joyce usually approaches his source material in a far more creative manner. The aim, it seems, is not to arrive at a truth *per se*, but rather to

[12] Denis Donoghue, cited in Hederman, p. 124.

scan sources for snatches of useful material to be incorporated into his chaotic, fictional universe. It does, furthermore, often seem likely that these snatches of text are selected as much for their linguistic as for their ideological qualities.

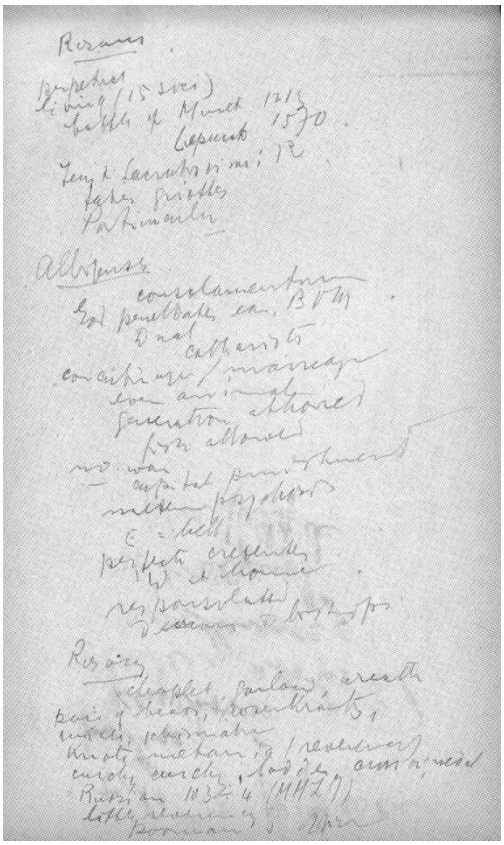
Evidence of Joyce's somewhat instinctive approach to garnering heretical material can be found on page 125 of the early notebook VI.B.6, compiled between the end of December 1923 and mid to late February 1924 according to Vincent Deane.[13] Joyce clearly had a very different topic in mind as he filled about a quarter of the page with relatively small, neat notes relating to information about the Rosary taken from the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, before coming across the following passing reference to the Albigensian heretics at the beginning of the encyclopedia's account of the 'Feast of the Holy Rosary':

> Apart from the signal defeat of the Albigensian heretics at the battle of Muret in 1213 which legend has attributed to the recitation of the Rosary by St. Dominic, it is believed that heaven has on many occasions rewarded the faith of those who had recourse to this devotion in times of special danger.[14]

Here the reference to the heretical sect is incidental, but this chance encounter inspired a brief change in focus. Joyce proceeded to make a new heading—'Albigenses'—and to produce a small block of notes derived from the *Catholic Encyclopedia* entry on this subject, before picking up his thread and returning to taking notes on the Rosary (an image of Joyce's notes on the Albigenses, sandwiched between his notes on the Rosary, is included as Figure I).

[13] James Joyce, *The 'Finnegans Wake' Notebooks at Buffalo: Notebook VI.B.6*, ed. by Vincent Deane, Daniel Ferrer and Geert Lernout (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002), p. 4.
[14] The source is identified in the Brepols edition of the notebook.

Figure I: Joyce's notes on the Rosary and Albigenses (VI.B.6.125)



A similarly serendipitous chain of events appears to have led Joyce back to Pelagius, a figure whom he had briefly invoked many years earlier in the 1907 lecture 'Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages', in which he is keen to establish a Celtic provenance for the 'great heresiarch', though not much else, claiming that 'Pelagius, a traveller and a tireless propagandist, if not an Irishman, as many contend, was certainly either Irish or Scottish' (*CW*, 157). It was in the course of taking extensive notes from a thoroughly orthodox source in the early twenties, the Very Reverend Dean Kinane's *Life of St. Patrick*, that Joyce again came across the Pelagian heresy in the following passage:

> The Pope now sent St. Germanus as legate, accompanied by St. Lupus of of Troyes, and Patrick, to extinguish […] the Pelagian heresy; and here our saint tasted the first fruits of his Apostolic mission.

> That St. Lupus of Troyes, should be chosen as fitting companion for the Apostolic legate, nobody will be surprised; for at this time he was one of he first figures in the Church of France.[15]

From this chunk of text Joyce took the simple note 'Pelagianism' (VI.B.14.36), and went on to make a couple of further passing references to the heresy as he proceeded to fill the notebook, probably a consequence of his obsessive reading of Patrician literature at this time.[16] Not until the notebook was almost complete did he substantially follow up on the lead, taking more than three pages of notes from the *Catholic Encyclopedia* entry. While these notes are fairly extensive, it should be observed that in relying so heavily upon the *Catholic Encyclopedia* Joyce appears to have been limiting his resources quite severely, as all of the information contained therein represents the orthodox Catholic position.

Joyce's somewhat haphazard approach to researching these heresies does not necessarily undermine the importance of this material for him. It may have been that he simply did not need a great deal of additional material for his purposes, or that he had recourse to further sources for which reading notes do not survive. However, when it comes to Chapter I.7 in particular, surviving compositional documents do not suggest that he wished to pursue the heretical theme in any great depth at this moment. Rather, we see Joyce 'sprinkling' the names of heresies and heretics across the already established chapter, but choosing not to incorporate any further details.

For example, at galley proof stage Joyce began tinkering with a passage that initially read 'any decent son of a shedog', and developed the neat pun 'any decent son of an Albiogenselman' (173.13, an image of these changes is included as Figure II). In the amended phrase, it is difficult to see what

[15] The source is again identified in the Brepols edition of the notebook.
[16] Joyce took notes from seven books about St. Patrick in VI.B.14 alone.

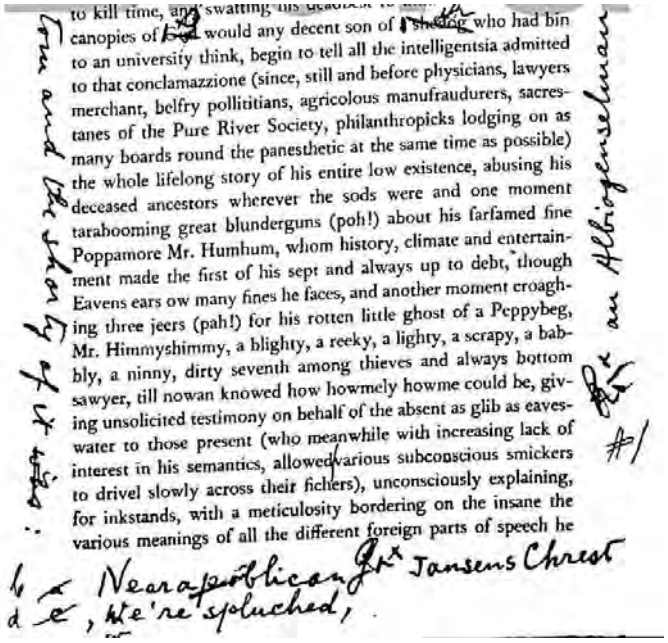
bearing the Albigensian heresy has on the logic of the passage, other than simply its status as heresy.[17] Rather, it seems plausible that when working on the chapter, Joyce was not so much thinking of the Albigenses in particular, but rather exploited the opportunity that arose from the coincidental similarity of 'Albigensian man' and 'Albion man', a pun that heightens the notion of Shem's West British pretensions, which is another facet of Shaun's attack. It is also noteworthy that on this same document Joyce included an allusion to Jansenism in the pun 'Jansens Chrest', a wordplay that is hardly enlightening in terms of the major rift between the Jansenists and the Jesuit hierarchy that divided the seventeenth century Church.[18]

A similar point can also be made regarding Joyce's decision to include an allusion to Shem's 'pelagiarist pen'. This addition is not present in the last typescript that is preserved in the *JJA*, where the pun read 'plagiarist pen' (*JJA* 49: 460; 47474-48), but it was present in the version of 'Shem the Penman' published in *This Quarter*. Here again the reference to the Pelagian heresy has little bearing on the content of the passage, but the pun is a neat one.

[17] As Joseph Strayer explains in *The Albigensian Crusades* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991), the Albigenses, a branch of the Cathar, were a dualist, neo-Manichaean sect, who rose to prominence in thirteenth century France. The sect was eventually wiped out by the Inquisition, but represented the last serious threat to the unity of the Church in the west prior to the Protestant Reformation (p. ix and *passim*).

[18] A most useful recent historical account of this monumental schism, particularly as it relates to the birth of the French Revolution, can be found in William Doyle's *Jansenism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).

Figure II: The insertion of punning allusions to Jansenism (bottom right) and the Albigenses (right margin) on a galley proof for Chapter I.7.
(47476a-104; *JJA* 49: 219)


to kill time, and swatting his deadbeat to
canopies of [illegible] would any decent son of [illegible] who had bin
to an university think, begin to tell all the intelligentsia admitted
to that conclamazzione (since, still and before physicians, lawyers
merchant, belfry pollititians, agricolous manufraudurers, sacres-
tanes of the Pure River Society, philanthropicks lodging on as
many boards round the panesthetic at the same time as possible)
the whole lifelong story of his entire low existence, abusing his
deceased ancestors wherever the sods were and one moment
tarahooming great blunderguns (poh!) about his farfamed fine
Poppamore Mr. Humhum, whom history, climate and entertain-
ment made the first of his sept and always up to debt, though
Eavens ears ow many fines he faces, and another moment croagh-
ing three jeers (pah!) for his rotten little ghost of a Peppybeg,
Mr. Himmyshimmy, a blighty, a reeky, a lighty, a scrapy, a bab-
bly, a ninny, dirty seventh among thieves and always bottom
sawyer, till nowan knowed how howmely howme could be, giv-
ing unsolicited testimony on behalf of the absent as glib as eaves-
water to those present (who meanwhile with increasing lack of
interest in his semantics, allowed various subconscious smickers
to drivel slowly across their fichers), unconsciously explaining,
for inkstands, with a meticulosity bordering on the insane the
various meanings of all the different foreign parts of speech he
Near a publican
Jansens Christ
, we're spluched,
an Albigenselunan
#1

The lack of actual heretical content in a chapter that is ostensibly concerned with portraying the arch-heretic Shem is perplexing to say the least, yet it does throw up several interpretative possibilities. The cluster of heretical allusions that are incorporated into Chapter I.7 might be compared to the use of river names in the following chapter, a technique that famously Joyce claimed to have employed in order to make the chapter flow. Working in this allusive manner, Joyce perhaps did not intend to develop Shem's character traits in anything resembling a conventional novelistic style, but rather to establish an associative pattern, inviting the reader to link Shem to the idea of heresy.

At the level of aesthetics, this explanation is plausible. However, if one focuses on the more realistic aspects of the chapter, it is possible to interpret this choice as having more to do with Joyce's attitude to Shaun, than to Shem. It may be the case that the speaker in this passage cannot engage with theological questions, or allow such challenges an airing, simply because they contradict the Church's

claim to absolute truth. If the conservative, Catholic Shaun were to engage in a theological debate that centred upon any of the controversies that he so fleetingly alludes to, he would open up the possibility of contradiction and humiliation. The more effective strategy, it seems, is to assassinate his brother's character by resorting to personal insults, while all the time dropping clues that hint at his rebellious, heretical nature.

The Priest, the Woman, and the Confessional

As we have seen, in the ostensibly heretical Chapter I.7, little of the content is actually concerned with the nature of the controversial theological work undertaken by the groups and individuals named. But there is one work that could be properly understood as 'heretical' in the Church's definition of the term that was heavily incorporated into the textual fabric of Chapter I.7: the infamous Fr. Charles Paschal Télesphore Chiniquy's popular anti-Catholic diatribe of 1875, *The Priest, the Woman, and the Confessional* (hereafter referred to as *The Priest*). Chiniquy's work does have a theological agenda, and it includes an attack on what he sees as the idolatrous devotional practices of Catholicism. But, appropriately enough given Joyce's abiding concerns in the *Wake*, this is a book that is far more concerned with the operations of the Church in society, a method that one would perhaps associate more strongly with the apostate.

Chiniquy (1809-99) was a Canadian former Roman Catholic priest and temperance campaigner who converted to Presbyterianism in 1858, taking most of his previously Catholic congregation with him. He made waves with his anti-Catholic lecture tours in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia, and through a number of publications exposing the wrongdoings of

his former co-religionists, most famously *The Priest* and *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, published in London in 1875 and 1886 respectively.[19] His works can be thought of as a product of an increased public appetite for outlandish anti-Catholic tracts in North America in the antebellum era. As Elizabeth Fenton explains, such works became a means for Anglo-Protestants to express their anxieties about democracy and personal liberty by vilifying the autocratic Church of Rome.[20]

Both of Chiniquy's major works chronicle a catalogue of abuses by the Roman Catholic Church, but it is the former volume that is more famous and controversial, a consequence of its shocking claims regarding the sexual indiscretions of priests with their penitents. This book not only argues that 'for women the experience of confession […] was potentially corrupting' as Don Gifford has inadequately summarised its contents,[21] but actually alleges numerous sexual relationships between penitents and their confessors. One of the most elaborate of these is the tale of 'Geneva' who allegedly disguised herself as a man for many years so that she could set up a home with her priest.[22]

It is, of course, unlikely that Joyce would have felt much sympathy for this flagrant exercise in Protestant propaganda. Furthermore, many of the tales told are so far-fetched that is difficult for any reader, however biased, to completely 'suspend their disbelief' and embrace Chiniquy's testimony wholeheartedly. But this is not to say that Joyce would have entirely dismissed Chiniquy's claims either. Despite recent protestations by the Church that the fact of sexual abuse by clerics was not known of until the second half of the twentieth century, this was clearly a topic that was current in Joyce's day, particularly in the domain of anti-Catholic literature. Chiniquy's was certainly not the

---

[19] See Elgin Sylvester Moyer, *The Wycliffe Biographical Dictionary of the Church* (Chicago: Moody, 1982), p. 90.
[20] See Elizabeth Fenton, *Religious Liberties: Anti-Catholicism and Liberal Democracy in Nineteenth-Century U. S. Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 13.
[21] Don Gifford with Robert J. Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, rev. ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), p. 497.
[22] See Charles Chiniquy, *The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional* (Chicago: A. Craig and Co., 1880), pp. 86-97.

only book that Joyce knew about that dealt with the sexual indiscretion of 'celibates', something that I discuss in further detail in Chapter 3 in relation to Joyce's portrayal of the convent. One may also remember Brenda Maddox's claim that Nora was molested by a priest as a young girl, an incident that, if true, Joyce was surely aware of.[23] That such accusations made a lasting impression on the author seems to be illustrated by the fact that, throughout the *Wake*, the idea of sexual liaisons between confessors and their penitents is a recurring motif, an idea that is dramatized through Shaun and Issy's relationship.

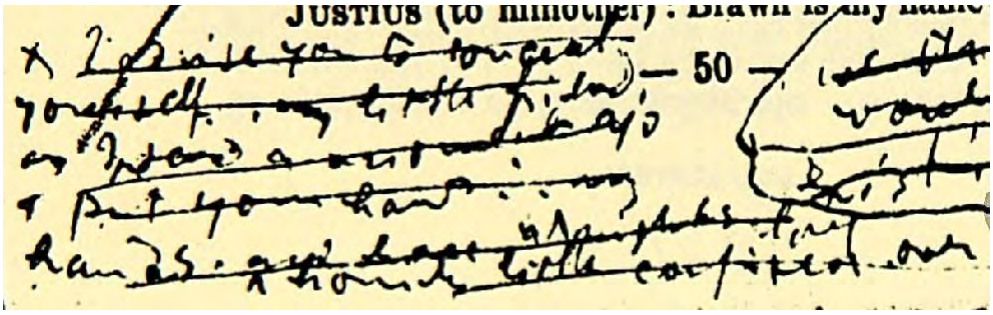
The notion that Joyce felt more than a passing curiosity in Chiniquy's works is further supported by the fact that he is mentioned twice in *Ulysses*. The first of these acknowledgements occurs when Bloom observes Chiniquy's pamphlet, 'Why I Left the Church of Rome', at the reverend Thomas Connellan's bookstore, a shop specializing in proselytising Protestant literature. Chiniquy later re-emerges in a more disturbing manner during Bloom's Circean nightmare, when in a vision he sees his father claiming responsibility for disclosing the 'Sex Secrets of Monks and Maidens'. In a diatribe against the Pope and the Church, Virag Bloom then recommends that his audience read Chiniquy's pamphlet (*U*, 8.1070-1; 15.2546-8).[24]

What makes *The Priest* so pertinent to my discussion is, however, the fact that Joyce returned to this book in 1931 and seems to have read it thoroughly, taking more than thirty pages of notes. Lernout has briefly commented on Joyce's extensive note taking from this book at this time, and he also observes that this material was incorporated almost immediately into the already established chapters of Book I (as illustrated by Figure III). However, he does not pause to consider the details of

[23] See Brenda Maddox, *Nora: The Real Life of Molly Bloom* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1988, rpt 2000), p. 18.
[24] As a result of the allusion in Circe a number of scholars have attempted to identify a popular work entitled 'Sex Secrets of Monks and Maidens' but it seems far more likely that this title is simply a hyperbolic Joycean title mimicking the genre discussed here.

the ways in which this material was used, nor the potential significance of Joyce's particularly heavy use of Chiniquy in terms of a broader understanding of Chapter I.7.[25]

Figure III: Joyce inserting material derived from Chiniquy into proofs for Chapter I.7 (47475-72; *JJA* 49: 512)



The fact that Joyce decided to incorporate this material at such a late stage tends to support the hypothesis that the heretical theme was one that he sought to develop in the later stages of composition. But in contrast to the series of fleeting allusions to heretics discussed above, the level of intertextual borrowing in this instance is high. Despite the late date of these additions, at least thirteen phrases from Chiniquy's diatribe are directly incorporated into Justius's speech, a sudden burst of related allusions that has been spotted by McHugh but not discussed in any detail by scholars (given the large number of allusions contained in a relatively small amount of text, for ease of reference I have set out the correspondences between the two works in a table that is included as Appendix B). These allusions occur after a significant shift in tone has taken place within the chapter, when Shaun has morphed into the more direct Justius persona, and begins to beg his brother to confess. At this moment a distinctly Victorian, didactic mood emerges, an effect that is significantly enhanced by the inclusion of so much material from *The Priest*.

[25] See Lernout, p. 204.

Of course, the reader need not be aware of Joyce's source material in order to appreciate the ironic nature of the passage in question. Shaun-Justius might attempt to take the moral high ground, enticing Shem to confess while condemning his ineptitudes, but it quickly becomes apparent that the preacher is not the pillar of integrity that he claims to be. This is perhaps most pointedly illustrated by the speaker's attitude to his brother's (presumably erotic, and possibly masturbatory) 'wetbed confession' (188.1). A hint of anticipation and relish is immediately apparent in the scenario in which Shaun invites his brother to confess, and this sense is firmed up as we learn how the preacher 'nerves' himself in order to 'swin [a term that contains both 'sin' and 'swim'] together in the pool of Sodom' (188.23-4). Further inconsistencies do, moreover, arise as the passage progresses. For example, Shaun's injunction 'away with covered words' (188.25), suggests that he would rather the confession be as explicit as possible. In addition, try as he might to blacken Shem's name by claiming that his brother has a horde of amorous female admirers, Shaun's interpretation of St. Jerome's Latin makes his libidinous agenda abundantly clear, and the line '*solus cum sola sive cuncties cum omnibobs*' (189.19) contains an obvious and facile allusion to female genitalia.

These slippages might tend to suggest that it is Shaun rather than Shem who is comparable to the lascivious priests Chiniquy describes, an idea that is strengthened when one sees how Joyce chooses to incorporate a particular snatch of source material towards the end of the passage. At this moment Shaun-Justius begins to describe an individual who appears to be a manifestation of himself. Using language that is typical of the manner in which Shaun is hyperbolically elevated at various moments in the *Wake*, he hails 'our handsome young spiritual physician' (191.16). Recourse to the source does, however, reveal that the origin of the phrase is not a holy one, and that it comes from a description of the very priest that seduced 'Geneva', and developed such an outrageous scheme in

order to keep her in his household. The question of how important the origins of Joyce's pilfered phrases were to him once he decided to incorporate them into the work is an open one. But if we assume that Joyce in this instance kept the original context of the phrase in mind, then this appropriation of material mischievously reveals, to the reader who is willing to go digging, that Shaun is not the angel that he seems, but can be likened to the good-looking philandering priest described in Chiniquy's book.

An awareness of the actual nature of the source material does, furthermore, open up the possibility of a humorous double relationship when it comes to the link that Joyce established between Shaun and Chiniquy. *The Priest* is a wonderful example of an apparently edifying read that undoes its own logic throughout, as the ostensibly outraged Chiniquy hovers 'just outside the bedroom door', returning time and again to his subjects' 'unmentionable' abominations and iniquities in a style that, like Shaun's, often feels more prurient than prudish. Indeed, it is even possible that the idea of portraying a judgemental and moralistic cleric, who soon slides into the role of lascivious hypocrite, was at least partially inspired by Chiniquy himself, as the rhetoric of the Canadian pastor so clearly hints at a pronounced set of double standards. It should also be noted that the authors of the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, who file Chiniquy under the heading 'Imposters', reach the same conclusion (although it is obviously in their interests to do so), and the encyclopedia claims that Chiniquy was actually suspended from the Church because of his own amorous indiscretions with young parishioners.

The scandalous nature of the book to which Shaun as Justius repeatedly alludes shows that, try as he might to direct discussion towards 'higher' theological questions, he is truly preoccupied with social and sexual matters, a tendency that is also often true of Joyce's own critique of Catholicism in the *Wake*. In this respect, the 'earthly' concerns attributed to Shem's art in the passage that I quoted at

the start of this chapter appear to shine through in Joyce's satire of Shaun. This human rather than spiritual agenda is, moreover, something that is communicated particularly strongly via the chapter's prominent political theme, to which I now turn.

A 'bludgeony Unity Sunday' (176.19-20)

As we have seen, despite Shaun's confident assertion of his brother's heretical status, there is, in Chapter I.7, little firm evidence of what Shem's heresy might actually consist of in theological or philosophical terms. The possibility suggests itself that Shem's rebellion is communicated via a work of art that casts asunder the divine order in favour of a humanist and individualist chaos. But what such a production might actually look like, or contain, remains undefined—a fact that is exacerbated by the lack of voice that is allowed to Shem both in this chapter and the *Wake* more broadly.

Yet while Shem's crimes of belief remain unarticulated, when it comes to his 'social' transgressions against his religious tribe, the content of the chapter is rather more explicit. As Lernout has noted, in the earliest drafts of 'Shem the Penman', Shem's crimes 'seem to be much more national than religious',[26] but this is also a theme that remains prominent in the final published version. Throughout the chapter, Shaun's assassination of his brother's character is multi-faceted, and his tirade includes criticisms of Shem's racial ancestry and 'criminal physiognomy', drawing upon the popular Victorian pseudo-science of degeneracy, along with various expressions of disgust at Shem's diet and personal habits. The notion of Shem's failure as a 'nationist' (190.13)—an obscure synonym for 'nationalist'— is, however, Shaun's favourite theme. This is an idea worth exploring as, despite the

[26] Lernout, p. 199.

abundance of material relating to Ireland's recent political history in this section of the work, this is an area that has received surprisingly little critical attention.

Shaun's delineation of his brother's failure in the political arena does, on several occasions, strongly reflect the biography. For example, by labelling Shem a 'national apostate' he presents the penman as the inverse of Ireland's National Apostle, St. Patrick. According to Shaun, Shem has abandoned Ireland in favour of the Continent, and gone on to produce 'pseudostylic shamiana' (181.36-182.1) about the people he left behind, rendering him, like Joyce, a figure that produces apostatic literature about his homeland, rather than fulfil an apostolic mission. However, it is also the case that within this 'moodmoulded cyclewheeling history' (186.2) there is a great deal of temporal confusion, and at moments the histories of the two figures diverge significantly.

In obvious contrast to Joyce, Shem's national failings appear to extend as far back as the days of the Plan of Campaign, a non-violent political movement that, as we saw in the Introduction, was crucial in terms of re-establishing the tacit clerical-nationalist alliance in Ireland that had suffered under the leadership of Cullen and McCabe. As we hear how this inadequate Irishman has failed 'to fall in with Plan, as our nationals should' (190.12-3) we learn that, in Shaun's eyes at least, Shem's acts of national and religious betrayal stretch back to the previous century.

The chapter's temporal frame of reference is, furthermore, not limited by a backwards-facing historical perspective, and allusions relating to events as contemporary as the birth of the Irish Free State, the 'new Irish stew' (190.9) that Shaun as Justius instructs his brother to labour hard for, also feature quite heavily, an epoch that obviously dawned after Joyce had been absent for many years. This same context emerges significantly as the speaker attempts to articulate his brother's sins against faith, something that he cannot help but paint in a political light. As he declares that Shem has 'reared

[his] disunited kingdom on the vacuum of [his] most intensely doubtful soul' (188.16-7), it seems that the actions of the self-appointed exile have had enormous political ramifications. In this formulation, responsibility for the disruption of national boundaries is placed squarely on Shem's shoulders, as the phrase at hand effectively describes both the U.K. as a newly divided nation-state, in which the majority of Ireland has seceded from the Union, and the manner in which the former country has now become split.

Adding to the chapter's very contemporary political theme, throughout his narration Shaun pauses to reflect on one particular event in the recent history of Catholic Ireland's national struggle as he tells the story of Shem's participation, or lack thereof, on the day of violence commonly referred to as Bloody Sunday. The concerns of the vignette in question are primarily political rather than religious, but Shaun's criticisms are linked to his Catholic agenda owing to the fact that he constantly conflates religious and national obligations as if the two were absolutely inseparable. This is a conflation that explicitly mimics the rhetoric of many Catholic-nationalist organs in the first decades of the twentieth century, and it therefore seems likely that in portraying Shaun as a figure who unquestionably conflates the terms Catholic and nationalist, Joyce intended to satirise yet another aspect of popular ideology.

Given the importance accorded to Bloody Sunday in Chapter I.7 it is worth briefly outlining the historical facts, such as they are known, before moving on to a consideration of the way in which Joyce incorporates this material. Violence began on the morning of November 21st, 1920, when Republicans set out to assassinate the undercover 'Cairo Gang'—a group of British secret service agents that had established themselves in Dublin—and succeeded in killing twelve gang members, a police officer, and a civilian informant during raids on properties in the south of the city centre, and at

the Gresham Hotel on present-day O'Connell Street. Later that afternoon, as crowds gathered for a Gaelic football game between Dublin and Tipperary at Croke Park, members of the Royal Irish Constabulary opened fire on the crowd killing fourteen civilians. As R.F. Foster notes, this was the latest in a long line of attacks and reprisals between members of the I.R.A. and government representatives, including the regular police and a band of brutal reinforcements, nicknamed the 'Black and Tans'.[27] Despite many violent incidents, as Foster also remarks, this event is usually thought of as 'the climax of horrific reprisals', owing to the large number of civilian casualties.[28] As many social historians have noted, the massacre came to have a near legendary status in oral culture, evidence for which has recently been collated in Kevin C. Kearns' *Dublin Tenement Life*.[29] The place afforded to Bloody Sunday in the popular consciousness as the epitome of British brutality was, furthermore, strikingly illustrated almost forty years later at the opening of Brendan Behan's autobiographical novel *Borstal Boy*, when the first act of atrocity that comes to the protagonist's mind is 'Bloody Sunday, when the Black and Tans attacked a football crowd in our street'.[30]

Shaun's alignment with Catholic nationalist ideology is a recurring theme in the *Wake*, and one that I return to in more detail in the following chapter. But more specifically relevant to the passage at hand is the fact that Shaun is explicitly associated with the Catholic martyrs of the Anglo-Irish War elsewhere in the book. In Chapter III.4, in an allusion to Kevin Barry, the eighteen year old Volunteer who was executed on November 1st, 1920 for his part in an I.R.A. ambush, Shaun is imagined as the 'nicechild Kevin Mary' a boy that 'was going to be commandeering chief of the choirboys brigade the moment he grew up under all auspices' (555.16-8). Joyce's apparent conflation

[27] A thorough account of the events leading to the inception of the Free State is provided by R.F. Foster in his seminal history, *Modern Ireland: 1600-1972* (London: Penguin, 1989), pp. 494-515.
[28] Foster, p. 498.
[29] See Kevin C. Kearns, *Dublin Tenement Life: an Oral History* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1994), *passim*.
[30] Brendan Behan, *Borstal Boy* (London: Hutchinson, 1958), p. 2.

of this figure with St. Kevin (a frequent avatar for Shaun) seems perfectly apt. Barry's 'hagiography' was on the rise soon after his death, and a popular ballad about the young man quickly circulated. Public affection for the fallen student (like Joyce, Barry attended Belvedere, and was enrolled at University College at the time of his death) culminated in the installation of a stained glass window bearing his image in a university lecture room at his *alma mater*.[31]

With these established associations in mind, that Shaun as the voice of Catholic nationalist Ireland should focus on Bloody Sunday as an act of British brutality is not at all surprising. Naturally omitting any reference to the murders committed by Republican activists, for him the event becomes a 'bludgeony Unity Sunday' (176.19-20), i.e. an event that illustrates the blunt and bloody approach of Unionist forces, along with the sense of unity that arose in the local community as a consequence of the killings. For Shaun, recourse to Bloody Sunday does, however, serve a further purpose. As he portrays his brother fleeing from the scene of the shootings 'in a bad fit of pyjamas', while the brave 'grim white and cold' (presumably the suffering Irish nationalists fighting under the green, white and gold banner) took on the brutal 'black fighting tans' (176.24-6), it becomes clear that Shem's cowardice provides him with the perfect means by which to truly destroy his character.

Two pages later the scenario is again picked up as we are told of how 'after the thorough fright he got that bloody, Swithun's day' (178.8) Shem lacked the guts to leave his place of safety and join the angry Catholic mob. In this particular telling, the religious nature of the battle is significantly heightened. The blood of the fallen that smears 'every doorpost in muchtried Lucalizod' (178.9) clearly invokes the massacre of the gentiles, and the Passover of the Jews, as recorded in Exodus.

[31] Christine Casey provides a brief description of the window, calling it a 'rare political image in stained glass' in *Dublin: The City Within the Grand and Royal Canals and the Circular Road, with the Phoenix Park* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 64.

Furthermore, the crowd's echo of Vico in their chant of '*O pura e pia bella*' (178.17) transforms their crusade into a Holy War of sorts—an elevation that perhaps seeks to place the events of the Anglo-Irish war on a parallel with the great political-religious wars of ancient history.[32]

The final explicit allusion to the Croke Park massacre occurs as Shaun portrays his brother cowering in a hiding place, 'on akkount of all the kules in Kroukaparka' (178.30-5), a phrase in which the word 'kules' appears to combine the Irish word *cúl* (goal), with a sense of the number of 'kills'. In this formulation, the name of the football stadium seems to double as an onomatopoeic rendering of Shem's terrified moans and croaks. The implication is that he is concerned with events outside of his hiding place only in so far as they affect his own safety.

In interpreting this politically charged vignette the same narrative complexities encountered above do recur, and Joyce's mimicry of Irish Catholic nationalist discourse, with its heavy-handed conflation of religious and national identity, seems to reveal more about Shaun's ideology than it does about Shem's. Here, as elsewhere, the Shem figure recedes into the background somewhat as it is the narrow-minded Shaun who is the primary target of Joyce's satire. However, in terms of a broader consideration of the role of the artist in Chapter I.7, the historically immediate Bloody Sunday vignette does open up further interpretative possibilities. In locating Shem in the Ireland of the twenties, an Ireland that he himself had no direct experience of, Joyce the absent apostate seems to be imagining the consequences for his art had he stayed or returned. But rather than imagine a heroic or redemptive homecoming, the performance of the artist in Chapter I.7 is thoroughly unimpressive, anti-heroic and cowardly—at least according to his brother. Denigrated as an 'opprobrious papist' (172.34) by both

[32] As McHugh notes, this is the cry of the holy wars in Vico's 'heroic age'.

Shaun and the broader Catholic population, Shem apparently fails to overcome, or even confront, his accusers.

The Voice of the Artist?

At the simplest narrative level, the relationship between Shaun and Shem (later Justius and Mercius) in Chapter I.7 can be understood as a power struggle between the warring brothers, with Shaun attempting to do his sibling down in order to assert his own superiority. Yet, bearing in mind Joyce's tendency to develop Wakean scenarios as microcosms of broader anxieties, it seems at least plausible that in this portion of the work Joyce intended for the reader to extrapolate from the drama a commentary upon the fate of the artist-intellectual in the 'new' Ireland. In this imagining that future appears to be a bleak one: paralysed into inaction by fear and intimidation, Shem's voice is in the main usurped by his brother, who stands for the values of a conservative, Catholic, and nationalist Ireland.

Joyce's concerns relating to the future of the artist in the new state are not limited to abstract aesthetic expressions. According to Arthur Power, Joyce directly voiced his concerns regarding the fate of the artist under the new system of government, commenting that,

> now I hear that since the Free State came in there is less freedom. The Church has made inroads everywhere, so that we are in fact becoming a bourgeois nation, with the Church supplying the aristocracy […] and I do not see much hope for us intellectually.[33]

[33] Arthur Power, *Conversations with James Joyce*, ed. by Clive Hart (London: Millington, 1974), p. 65.

As Joseph Brooker has recently observed in relation to this statement, Joyce's fears appear to have come to pass. Drawing on the historical research of Gemma Hussey and Julia Carlson, Brooker notes that both William Cosgrave, and then de Valera, claimed never to have set foot in the Abbey Theatre.[34] This is a view that has also been expressed by Caitriona Beaumont, who has detailed the startling rise in the censorship of printed material during the period in question, a consequence of the legislation introduced by the 1929 Censorship of Publications Act, the negative ramifications of which have been discussed by numerous contemporary historians.[35] The situation has, in my view, been most strikingly articulated by J.J. Lee, who contrasts the material gains made by the Church in this period with their lack of contribution to the intellectual life of the nation, writing that,

> Rarely has the Catholic Church as an institution, flourished by materialistic criteria, as in the Free State. And rarely has it contributed so little, as an institution, to the finer qualities of the Christian spirit. Censorship, Irish style, suitably symbolised the impoverishment of spirit and the bareness of mind of the risen bourgeoisie, touting for respectability.[36]

This increasingly restricted culture appears to have, on the most part, enjoyed popular support. On May 9th, 1923, the *Irish Independent* reported that the newly tabled Censorship of Films Bill was 'certainly a step in the right direction'.[37] When the legislation first came into force in January 1924, they went on to add that 'it cannot be disputed that a Censorship of pictures is much needed'.[38] Nevertheless, there were some contemporary voices of dissent, particularly with regards to the

[34] See Joseph Brooker, *Joyce's Critics: Transitions in Reading and Culture* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), p. 186.
[35] Beaumont, p. 566.
[36] Lee, p. 159.
[37] Anon, 'Censorship of Films', *Irish Independent*, May 9 1923, p. 6.
[38] Anon, 'Censorship of Films, *Irish Independent*, January 15 1924, p. 4.

suppression of literature. The wonder expressed overseas at the complicity of the Irish people in outrageous acts of censorship were summarised by a Mr. Fred P. Kennedy of the Bronx, New York in a 1931 letter to the *Connaught Tribune*:

> The individual Irish citizen is now deprived of the means to decide for himself whether many books in his own judgement are good or bad, important or trivial. A group of men in Dublin have arrogated that right to themselves. They not only judge for him, but deny him the right to judge for himself.

The correspondent goes on to complain about the banning in Ireland of a novel by American Nobel Laureate Sinclair Lewis, and describes Ireland as 'a laughing stock throughout civilisation'.[39] The great poet of the Irish Literary Revival, W.B. Yeats, also famously campaigned for freedom of literary expression in the burgeoning state.[40]

It seems, then, that Joyce's own observations were on the mark, echoing the concerns of his liberal minded contemporaries, and indeed anticipating some of the insight of more recent historiography. Yet the creative manner in which Joyce dramatises these concerns is naturally unique. Shaun's ability to suppress his opponent's voice is evident everywhere in the chapter, where his rafts of accusations always take priority over Shem's perspective. But, as the chapter draws to a close, this power dynamic suddenly takes on a new, physical dimension, in a powerful burst of magic realism. In the surreal dramatic scenario with which the chapter concludes, we see that Justius, in the role of conjuror or wizard, is literally able to point 'the deathbone' and render the living still (193.28). This

[39] Fred P. Kennedy, 'Letter to the Editor', *Connaught Tribune*, April 18 1931, p. 2.
[40] Yeats' interventions in the censorship debate have been documented by R.F. Foster in his, *W.B. Yeats: A Life*, *II. The Arch-Poet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 293-342.

imaginative display of the total power wielded by institutional Catholicism in Ireland articulates the situation more poignantly, and arrestingly, than any didactic prose could hope to.

Were the chapter to close on this note, the outlook for the artist in Ireland would seem bleak indeed. Yet Joyce is perhaps not entirely pessimistic about the future, and at least the *possibility* for the resurgence of the creative spirit emerges at the close of the chapter, with a final outburst from Shem in the guise of Mercius. In one of a relatively small number of published close readings of this section of the *Wake*, Robert M. Polhemus has described Mercius' final outburst in adulatory terms, claiming that his response to his brother constitutes 'one of the most resonant sentences in literature'.[41] Yet, in my view, it is not altogether clear where this sense of gravitas comes from. Despite the sense of anticipation that Joyce builds throughout the chapter, as the reader patiently awaits the arrival of the much talked of penman, when we finally hear from this persona the result is distinctly anti-climactic. Joyce's prose is, as ever, rich and beautifully wrought, but rather than choose to attribute to Mercius words of self-justification, or indeed an artistic manifesto that might help to make sense of the whole, the speech itself verges on nonsense. Mercius' monologue is a schizophrenic affair in which he, addressing 'hisself', appears to accept responsibility for the charges laid at his feet, announcing in mock-Shakespearean terms, 'My fault, his fault, a kingship through a fault!' (193.31-2).Via a convoluted train of thought it becomes clear that Shem recognises his brother's superiority as 'firstborn and firstfruit of woe' in contrast to his own status as desperate black or 'branded' sheep (194.12-3).

The anti-climactic feel of the passage is heightened by the fact that, ironically, just as Shem has finally found his voice so again he quickly loses it. A short way into his monologue the narrative voice acquires a distinctly ALP-like register as we hear the words, 'because ye left from me, because ye

[41] Robert M. Polhemus, *Comic Faith: The Great Tradition from Austen to Joyce* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), p. 296.

laughed on me, because O me lonly son, ye are forgetting me!' (194.20-1). The agent behind the actions described at the close of the chapter is a little ambiguous, but it seems likely that it is the artist himself who 'lifts the lifewand and the dumb speak' (195.4). The result of this second spell is a humorous, perpetual question that logically belongs to ALP: 'Quoiquoiquoiquoiquoiquoiquoiq!' (195.5).

In my view, then, the passage at hand does not represent a vindication of the artist, but the words of a stammering, debased individual, who has been driven half-mad—a speech that constantly gives ways to the perspective of others. The confusion of voices that occurs between Shem and ALP at this moment is indicative of a larger thematic concern: the convoluted respective statuses attached to ALP as 'author' of The Letter, the missing piece of text that is of central importance in the *Wake*, and to Shem as its scribe. Furthermore, the voice that has ostensibly been granted to ALP is not fully realised at this time. In the following chapter ALP, like Shem, rarely speaks for herself, but rather has her life story narrated by two gossiping washerwomen, a device that I discuss in further detail in Chapter 4. The reader will have to wait until the climax of the *Wake* as a whole to hear ALP's version of events, the book's closing monologue that is considered in the Ricorso. But, for now, I will turn my attentions to the central chapters, and to a figure that has already begun to loom large in this study, the domineering Shaun.

'My unchanging Word is sacred'

(167.28)

Shaun

If Shem is defined in the *Wake* by his relative absence, then his brother Shaun must be considered in terms of his presence. As we have seen, this figure emerges prominently at certain moments throughout Book I, and he is also present in Book II—the 'Book of the Children'—as an angelic boy who opposes his rebellious brother, and in Book IV as a humorously rendered 'St. Kevin', lying in a bathtub as he contemplates the universe. But Shaun features most strongly in Book III where we follow him through what was described by Joyce to Harriet Shaw Weaver as the 'Four Watches of Shaun', with the term 'watching' denoting in Roman Catholic devotional language a prayer vigil. In this instance this is perhaps an allusion to 'the great Easter vigil or watch-service' held during the last hours of Easter Saturday (see *CE*, 'Holy Week'). This context seems apt given a number of references to Lenten observances in Book III, along with the fact that Book IV might be conceived of as a resurrection of sorts.

Beginning as simply 'Shaun' in Chapter III.1, the protagonist of Book III then transforms into a preaching 'Jaun' (a Don Juan-type) as he bids goodbye to his sister and her entourage of school chums in III.2, delivers 'a long absurd and rather incestuous Lenten lecture to Izzy, his sister' (*L* I, 216), and becomes, at the close of the chapter, a romanticised, rural, and West Irish version of himself designated as 'Haun'—a manifestation of his character that has often been neglected by critics. Chapter

III.3 sees an incapacitated Shaun-Yawn interrogated by four inquisitors, otherwise known as Mamalujo. Here, Yawn slides out of consciousness, and his voice progressively gives way to his family members, before he eventually appears to morph into HCE. Finally in Chapter III.4, Shaun, accompanied by his brother and sister, is portrayed as a child in his parents' house—The Porters—as day breaks.

Of course, Shaun's character traits are never entirely consistent, a consequence of the *Wake*'s constant acknowledgement of the fact that tidy oppositions in human nature can never be wholly maintained. By way of an illustration of this point, Hart has attempted to map the manner in which the 'orbits' of Shaun and Shem both diverge, and amalgamate, at key moments throughout the *Wake* in relation to the principles of Platonic cosmology.[1] Yet the repeated patterns that Joyce established for Shaun should not be ignored, and the book is replete with examples of his conservative, bigoted, and most often Catholic orientation. To give just a few examples, as Professor Jones in Chapter I.6 he declares 'my unchanging Word is sacred. The word is my Wife, to exponse and expound, to vend and to venerate…' (167.28-9), a statement that places the 'Word' of this individual on a par with the 'Word' of the Bible; as the Mookse in the Mookse and Gripes 'parable', which is contained within the same chapter, he becomes the embodiment of Roman Catholic Papal autocracy, and as the annotator of the 'Nightlessons' in Chapter II.2 he adopts an ostensibly conservative and scholarly approach to the lecture being delivered, in contrast to the wildly disruptive interjections of his brother and sister. The most obvious exception to this rule is the manner in which Shaun, as Yawn, is presented in Chapter III.3. At this moment, the tables appear to have at least partially turned, and Yawn becomes the victim

[1] See Hart, pp. 130-4.

of an Inquisition of sorts. This change is perhaps, however, accounted for by the fact that Shaun does not really speak as 'himself' in this portion of the work.

The notion that Shaun represents the worst aspects of the pair of brothers is, of course, well established, and, to give just one example, Fritz Senn has discussed this 'dogmad Accanite' (158.03) as the antithesis of the anti-orthodox values of the author of the *Wake*.[2] Yet given recent attempts by critics such as Lowe-Evans to play down the polemical aspects of Joyce's critique of Catholicism, a move that is typified by her unfounded claim that 'there remains in all of [Joyce's works] a powerful current of the Catholic antimodernism' (a notion that would to an extent place Joyce in sympathy with the arch-conservative Shaun), and the broader tendency of some post-structuralist criticism to attempt to defuse or modify Joyce's most consistently articulated positions (for example, Morrison's claim, mentioned in the Critical Survey, that Joyce simultaneously believed and disbelieved), it is worth restating the book's persistent pejorative presentation of Shaun.[3] Joyce's distaste for the Shaunish position is abundantly evident in the *Wake*, but in Chapter III.2 leads to what is in my view one of the most effective critiques of clerical hypocrisy in English literature.

The third person narrative voice with which the chapter opens and closes idealises Jaun in ludicrously hyperbolic terms as a man who is 'through Ireland untranscended' (429.17-8), as he launches into a leave-taking lecture addressed to his sister Issy and her friends, seemingly encouraging them to stick to a strictly Catholic and moral way of life as he heads off on a holy mission. However, as Jaun's speech progresses, his façade as an upstanding member of the Catholic clergy slips further and further out of sight as it becomes increasingly clear that his apparent piety is simply a sham. The well-fed Jaun with his 'full fat pouch' (430.30) clearly has no intention of maintaining the strict Lenten diet

[2] See Fritz Senn, 'Dogmad or doubliboused?', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 17.3 (1980), 237-261.
[3] Lowe-Evans, p. 39.

that he promotes, and the chapter is laced with references to foodstuffs, particularly lentils and peas, an image that Joyce may well have taken from the Old Testament tale of Jacob and Esau, in which Esau sells his birthright for 'bread and pottage of lentils' (Genesis 25:34). The most flagrant way in which Joyce communicates Jaun's hypocrisy is, however, through the latter's desire for his sister, a fact that is repeatedly implied via his many injunctions to her to remain chaste in his absence, but that is, at the height of his tirade, barely concealed at all, as he simply pronounces 'Iy waount yiou!' (446.2).

The manner in which Shaun's voice consistently undercuts itself has already been discussed in relation to 'Shem the Penman', and is of course a mainstay of most sensible Joyce criticism that cares to acknowledge the actual professed position of Joyce in relation to the institution of Catholicism. However, what is missing in the critical heritage is a thoroughly contextual explication of the Catholic values that are actually promoted by Jaun. The rich texture of this chapter both mimics and critiques a certain kind of Catholic discourse, at a pivotal moment in Ireland's history, that cannot be detected to such an extent elsewhere. But the precise nature of this mimicry and critique has only been considered in limited ways. With this in mind, it is the aim of the chapter to pursue an extensive contextual exegesis of Jaun's words in III.2, before going on, in the following chapter, to explore the impact that this embodiment of Church authority has on the power dynamics of the book as a whole, particularly in relation to Issy.

'*Sinning Society*' (50.23)

To my knowledge, the only study that does interpret Jaun's III.2 lecture in relation to a particular culture of Irish (and British) Catholicism is Cheryl Herr's 1986 book *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture*, a

landmark study for beginning to read the *Wake* in relation to precise historical circumstances. In her chapter 'Politicoecomedy' Herr discusses Jaun's 'sermon' (a somewhat problematic classification of Jaun's speech that I return to below) in the light of the fact that a great deal of Catholic discourse contemporary with Joyce was founded not upon 'revelation but economic utility and social conventions'.[4] Throughout her study, she turns up a number of potentially valuable precursors to Jaun's sermon, including the infamous Fr. Bernard Vaughan's Mayfair sermons delivered during the Season of 1906 and published as the *Sins of Society*, and his later collection *What of Today?* (1914); the preaching of Fr. Thomas Burke (1830-1882); Fr. Charles Jerome Callan's *Illustrations for Sermons and Instructions* (1916), and *The Preacher's Vademecum* (penned by 'Two Missionaries' in 1921). All of these sources, broadly speaking, reflect Jaun's ostensible concern with bolstering the institutions of marriage and parenthood, and condemning the chaos and moral laxity of the modern world.[5] Herr rightly argues that 'the fact that we cannot go back to a specific source […] is important, for throughout the *Wake* Joyce emphasizes the circulation of cultural ideas and ideals that lack definite origin'.[6] Yet while it is obviously true that the passage in question is intended to invoke the values of a Catholic society rather than those of a single individual, as we have already seen Joyce was often inspired by particular sources. Moreover, of all the preachers named by Herr, it is Vaughan who seems most likely to have directly influenced the content of Joyce's satire.

Born into an old recusant Anglo-Welsh Catholic family, Bernard was one of eight sons (six of whom became priests and three of those bishops) born to Colonel John Francis Vaughan and his first wife Elizabeth Louisa née Rolls, a woman of high enough social status to have been painted by the

[4] Cheryl Herr, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1986), p. 258.
[5] Herr, p. 277 and *passim*.
[6] Herr, p. 258.

famous and controversial English artist William Etty, better known for his voluptuous nudes (see William Etty, *Louisa Rolls, Mrs Vaughan*, oil on canvas, Museum of Wales, c. 1835). Like Oliver St. John Gogarty years later, Vaughan was educated at the prestigious Jesuit school Stonyhurst College, and he entered the Society of Jesus himself in 1866 at the age of nineteen. Unlike his brothers, Vaughan never climbed the ranks of the Catholic hierarchy, but he established an international reputation as a gifted orator, a fact that probably led to him being moved from a parish in Manchester to Farm St., Mayfair. That something of a cloud hung over Vaughan might be suggested by the fact that he successfully brought a libel action against the newspaper *The Rock* in June 1902, and he was sometimes accused of being overly fond of publicity.[7] However, his supporters have preferred to emphasise his spiritual zeal and committed philanthropy in both the slums of Manchester and the East End of London.[8]

It is clear that Joyce was aware of this clerical celebrity, and in a letter dated October 10th 1906 (the year in which the Mayfair sermons first appeared in print) he declared that 'Fr. B. V. is the most diverting public figure in England at present. I never see his name but I expect some enormity' (*L* II, 182). It has long been established that Vaughan was the model for Fr. Purdon in 'Grace', and this figure is thought of twice in *Ulysses*, once by Bloom who is less than enamoured by the sermon he has heard ('Christ or Pilate? Christ, but don't keep us all night over it. Music they wanted', *U*, 5.398-9), and later by Fr. Conmee who is less than convincing in his praise of the preacher as he reasons that Vaughan is 'a zealous man, however. Really he [is]. And really [does] great good in his way. Beyond a doubt'. This is a rather hedged compliment that is couched within a train of thought that ironically

[7] A correspondent in *The Rock* had accused Vaughan of being a seditious outlaw who owned no nationality. For a transcript of the hearing see Anon, *The Jesuit Libel Case* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1902).
[8] For further biographical information see C.C. Martindale, *Bernard Vaughan, S.J.* (London: Longmans, 1923).

contrasts Conmee's recollection of Vaughan's 'droll eyes and cockney voice' with the knowledge that this figure came from a 'good' (i.e. upper-class) Welsh family (*U*, 10.33-8).[9]

What has been less noted by scholars is the fact that this figure also appears at moments throughout the *Wake*. From a genetic perspective, the editors of the Brepols notebook editions point out that on p. 13 of the early notebook VI.B.10 Joyce took the following note from an obituary of Vaughan that appeared in the *Irish Times* on November 1st 1922: 'Fr Bern. Vaughan granted / privilege of portable altar', a phrase that was eventually incorporated into a description of St. Kevin's altar *cum* bathtub in Book IV, 'having been graunted the praviloge of a priest's postcreated *altare cum balneo*' (605.7-8). Lernout has also suggested that a number of notebook entries that appear on p. 90 of the notebook VI.B.1 alongside the entry 'Fr Vaughan' could possibly be derived from his sermons, although the phrases in question are far too generic to make a certain identification possible, and include such platitudes as 'Now, we stray & belong' and 'Let em all come'.[10] What is certain is that a number of the phrases included in this cluster were incorporated into the opening pages of Shaun-Jaun's leave-taking lecture at the close of Chapter III.1, and the opening of III.2, as follows: 'Thou'rt passing Hence' and 'parents dear' (both included at 427.18), 'how you wd miss me' (included at 431.24), and 'result of yr teaching' (see 431.23; the inclusion of these notes in the *Wake* has been noted by the compilers of the Brepols annotated facsimile).[11] Like Vaughan, Jaun also appears to be hungry for publicity, and he alludes to the gentlemen of the press, 'Peter Paragraph and Paulus Puff', of whom he says that he 'keepsoaking them to cover my concerts' (438.19-20)—possibly implying that he has

[9] As Lernout has noted the reference to Vaughan's use of Cockney appears to be anachronistic as this was a technique that Vaughan employed while preaching in 1911 (see Lernout, p. 70).
[10] See Lernout, p. 201.
[11] See James Joyce, *The 'Finnegans Wake' Notebooks at Buffalo: VI.B.1*, ed. by Vincent Deane, Daniel Ferrer and Geert Lernout (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 132.

kept these journalists (who here function as a comic embodiment of two of Christ's most important disciples) soaked in drink in order to guarantee their attentions.

Clear references to Vaughan also occur elsewhere in the published text. On p. 50 the following allusion appears to invoke Vaughan's *Sins of Society*. The reference is rather well buried, but the aural similarity between Brawne and Vaughan does suggest the preacher's presence, as well as providing another instance of a pun built on the conflation of Bruno of Nola with the name of Browne and Nolan's Dublin bookshop, a joke that Joyce cracks several times in the *Wake*:

> To whose palpitating pulpit (which of us but remembers the rarevalent and hornerable Fratomister Nawlanmore and Brawne.) sinning society sirens (see the [Roman Catholic] presspassim) (50.21-4)

The probably coincidental chiming of Vaughan's name with the Shaun-Jaun-Haun-Yawn sequence might also have suggested to Joyce a parallel between the book's Shaunish elements and the famous Jesuit. In the closing chapter, Vaughan is present once more as an allusion to the 'pettyvaughan populace' (609.2) conflates the masses—presumably the audiences who turned out for his sermons—with the name of the popular preacher.

Turning back to III.2, in terms of form it is not particularly easy to detect Vaughan's particular style of sermonising, described by Fr. Leonard Feeney as 'aristocratic, simple, benignant, and clear', in Jaun's jaggedly punctuated tirade that is by turns blunt, meandering, angry, and insistent.[12] But with regards to content, it is no challenge at all to find commonalities between the features of modernity that

[12] Leonard Feeney, *London is a Place* <http://www.fatherfeeney.org/other/london/london8.html>. Accessed 1 January 2012 (Chapter 8).

Vaughan condemned throughout his career, and those that Jaun warns his sister of, some of which have been considered by Herr, but a number of which have not.

To give a selection of examples, Vaughan's preoccupation with the evils of gambling finds an echo in the phrases 'Ah, dice's error!' and 'You'll pay for each bally sorraday night every billing sumday morning' (433.30; 436.26-7), as does his concern for the proper observance of the Lord's day ('Never play lady's game for the Lord's stake' (433.13), in the early drafts this read 'Lord's day'). Vaughan's disgust at excessive drinking and smoking is mirrored by Jaun as he instructs 'Don't on any account acquire a paunchon for that alltoocommon fagbutt habit' and 'When parties get tight for each other they lose all respect together' (436.24-5), as are the preacher's many ramblings in relation to what he considers to be a healthy domestic situation, with Jaun coaxing that Issy should 'especially beware please of being at a party to any demoralizing home life' (433.36-434.1). Vaughan's aversion to contemporary politics, and particularly his disapproval of both suffragism and socialism, also resonates with Jaun's disapproval of the New Woman (that 'high powered hefty hoyden' [436.3]), and his dismissal of activities that might create social equality, thus rendering 'the great unwatched as bad as their betters' (435.31-2). Finally, Vaughan's disgust at popular literature, described in *Sins of Society* as 'putrid novels […] in which only too many of the present generation disport themselves and wallow swinelike', and concern that his parishioners ought to 'spend less time on newspaper, magazine and romance-reading and so create quite a series of daily moments for spiritual reading',[13] is mirrored by Jaun's own concerns about appropriate reading for girls, an important theme for the chapter that is discussed in more detail in the following section.

[13] Bernard Vaughan, *The Sins of Society: Words Spoken by Father Bernard Vaughan of the Society of Jesus in the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Mayfair During the Season 1906*, 7th ed. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Tobner and Company, 1906), p. xvii and *What of Today?* (New York: McBride, Nast and Company, 1915), p. 87. Vaughan's critique of popular disrespect for the Lord's Day, gambling, smoking, drinking, feminism and socialism can be found in numerous extant examples of his sermons.

In terms of audience, on one level at least the society in which Vaughan moved appears to inflect the character of Jaun's speech, and a number of the warnings that he issues to Issy sound distinctly English and elitist in nature.[14] Jaun's frequent recourse to upper-class English social mores perhaps connects to Gibson's claim that what so exercised Joyce about figures like Vaughan was their complicity with the British State, and the worrying degree to which puritanical English values had come to influence the character of the Irish Catholic Church. It is true, as Gibson observes, that Vaughan identified himself as a proud Englishman, and that he was on friendly terms with Edward VII. However, these 'allegiances' are not as straightforward as the critic supposes. Edward VII is hardly an example of an unambiguous advocate of the Anglo-Protestant tradition: he was the first reigning British monarch to pay an official visit to a Pope, and he also attempted (unsuccessfully) to change the wording of the coronation service so as to eliminate anti-Catholic remarks.[15] Furthermore, Vaughan's many criticisms of the Protestant system of public school education, and the manner in which he consistently decries the mores of the English upper-classes, calls into question the extent to which this figure can actually be thought to have embraced Anglo-Protestant values.[16] An observation of a similar kind can also be made with regards to Gibson's approach to Cullen, another figure that this critic invokes in order to illustrate the manner in which the Irish Church was becoming excessively Anglicised in nature. To my mind, this argument is called into question by the obsessively anti-

[14] The sermons published as the *Sins of Society* were initially preached in Mayfair during the Season of 1906—an orchestrated series of social functions for the English elite that ran from just after Christmas until midsummer, and included an array of balls, dinners and sporting events. This is perhaps what is obliquely alluded to in Jaun's punning, fruity reference to 'when cherries next come back to Ealing as come they must, as they musted in their past, as they must for my pressing season' (446.21-2).

[15] See Christopher Hibbert, *Edward VII, A Portrait* (London: Allen Lane, 1976), p. 250.

[16] Vaughan, *Sins of Society*, p. 210.

Protestant nature of Cullen's life and writings, described by his biographer as 'a spirit of religious absolutism that justified sectarianism in all its forms'.[17]

Jaun too expresses his distaste for the English chattering classes, and when he does invoke the values of upper-class English society, it is not to promote them, but to warn Issy and the Maggies against falling into such dangerous circles. For example, when he declares 'when parties get tight for each other they lose all respect together' (436.24-5), it is clear that he intends (however hypocritically) for them to avoid such company. The upper-class English poet Algernon Swinburne (appearing here as 'Autist Algy') is also heavily criticised, and he is portrayed by Jaun as someone who coaxes young girls to his studio for immoral purposes: 'won't you be an artist's moral and pose in your nudies' (434.35; 435.5). Even the vice crusaders who might be assumed to be the natural allies of the prudish, moralising Shaun are, ironically given his own moral lapses, dismissed by him for failing to practice what they preach. This is made clear as he alludes to a scenario in which a girl has become 'guilty of unleckylike intoxication', and thus gotten involved with 'a prominent married member of the vicereeking squad' (438.25-8), a statement that includes an allusion to the famous Anglo-Irish historian William Lecky. In Jaun's imagination at least, this leads to the girl becoming a prostitute, in his terms 'a detestificated companykeeper on the dammymonde of Lucalamplight' (438.29-31), and overall this description seems to suggest that Jaun wishes to separate his own moralising strategies from those associated with Protestant social purists, whom he considers to reek of vice themselves.

Joyce, via Jaun, may seek to highlight at this moment the moral hypocrisies that are common to both the Irish Catholic and Anglo-Protestant traditions, and indeed to illustrate the manner in which prudish, Victorian values had come to influence the language of the pulpit in Ireland. However, as I go

[17] Bowen, p. 293.

on to demonstrate, the undeniably Catholic tone of the whole renders it extremely likely that the primary target of Joyce's parody is not the moral values of the former colonial master, but those virtues promoted by the deeply Conservative Irish Catholic hierarchy during the post-Cullen era. In the service of this message, the Church may have borrowed some of the tricks and tropes of the Anglican tradition, but its values were distinctly Roman in nature.

'Apply your five wits to the four verilatest' (440.1)

It might not be possible to prove that Vaughan lurks beneath the surface of Jaun's discourse simply because, as Herr has shown, the condemnations of modernity that the two figures hold in common were such a popular topic of discussion in Catholic sermons of the day. Furthermore, there is a possible argument to be made that such 'source hunting' is not useful in the first place given that Joyce's target appears to be the entire institution of conservative Catholicism rather than a given individual, an objection that has already been considered in the Introduction. Yet a notable feature of Jaun's speech, and one that surprisingly is not thoroughly explored by Herr, is that Joyce includes a list of both recommended and unacceptable reading titles for the audience that Jaun addresses, a move that allows him to gesture towards particular printed sources, and also one that invites the reader to follow up on these precise historical anchors.

The suppression of bad or dangerous books had of course been a concern for the Church of Rome since the sixteenth century, when Pope Paul IV promoted the first edition of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.[18] However, the *Index* had been reorganised and reinvigorated by Leo XIII at the end of

[18] This concern is reflected in Chapter I.6, when Shaun in the guise of the Pope-like Mookse advises the Gripes to 'ask my index' (154.18).

the nineteenth century, thus rendering it a very real source of suppression in the Dublin in which Joyce was raised. It is surely this recent drive towards censorship that primarily underpins Jaun's obsession with policing the literature that Catholic girls are exposed to.

Jaun's desire to destroy offending books is made abundantly clear in the following statement to Issy, as he advises, 'I'd burn the books that grieve you and light an allasundrian bompyre that would suffragate Tome Plyfire or Zolfanerole' (439.34-5). The choice of *Tom Playfair* (a Catholic morality tale for boys by Fr. Francis J. Finn, S.J., a figure that I return to below) seems to be odd given its conservative Catholic agenda, although perhaps it is simply Issy's gender that excludes her from reading. The second author invoked here is, however, less of a surprise. Emile Zola, a writer who was awarded the dubious honour of having his 'complete works' placed on the *Index* during his lifetime, produced fiction that would certainly be deemed inappropriate for impressionable young Catholic girls.[19]

Moving on from his recommendations for burning, Jaun does, however, turn then to reading material that is deemed appropriate, and the following list of recommended titles provides a fascinating insight into the myriad of Catholic perspectives that might inform Jaun's ideological position:

> Perousse instate your *Weekly Standerd*, our verile organ that is ethelred by all pressdom. Apply your five wits to the four verilatest. The Arsdiken's *An Traitey on Miracula or Viewed to Death by a Priest Hunter* is still first in the field despite the castle bar, William Archer's a rompan good cathalogue and he'll give you a riser on the route to our nazional labonry. Skim over *Through Hell with the Papes* (mostly boys) by the divine comic Denti Alligator (exsponging your index) and find a quip in a quire arisus aream from bastardtitle to fatherjohnson. Swear aloud by

[19] Zola's name is here conflated with the Italian word for match (*zolfanello*), along with the name of the fifteenth century Dominican friar Girolamo Savonarola, a burner of books whose name has become a by-word for literary censorship, and who ironically ended up being burnt at the stake himself.

> pious fiction the like of *Lentil Lore* by Carnival Cullen or that *Percy Wynns* of our S.J. Finn's or *Pease in Plenty* by the Curer of Wars, licensed and censered by our most picturesque prelates, Their Graces of Linzen and Petitbois, bishops of Hibernites, *licet ut lebanus*, for expansion on the promises, the two best sells on the market this luckiest year, set up by Gill the father, put out by Gill the son and circulating disimally at Gillydehooly's Cost. Strike up a nodding acquaintance for our doctrine with the works of old Mrs Trot, senior, and Manoel Canter, junior, and Loper de Figas, nates maximum. I used to follow Mary Liddlelambe's flitsy tales, espicially with the scentaminted sauce. Sifted science will do your arts good. *Egg Laid by Former Cock* and *With Flageolettes in Send Fanciesland*. Chiefly girls. Trip over sacramental tea into the long lives of our saints and saucerdotes, with vignettes, cut short into instructual primers by those in authority for the bittermint of your soughts. (439.35-440.24)

The designation of some of these titles, adopting the language more commonly used in advertising popular literature, as 'the four verilatest' and 'the two best sells', is laughably ironic given the dry moralising content of many of the books invoked. These include a recommendation for *The Standard*, a weekly Irish Catholic newspaper founded in 1928, and renamed the *Catholic Standard* in 1963; an allusion to St. Jean Vianney, the *Curé d'Ars*, here rather more impressively imagined as a 'Curer of Wars', and to the conservative Catholic publishing house Gill and Son, here transformed into a secular trinity, 'Gill the father, put out by Gill the son and circulating disimally at Gillydehooly's Cost'.[20]

Yet, as ever, Jaun's claim to unquestionable authority is slyly undercut by Joyce. To this end, Jaun's recommendations include works by two figures that had at one point or another had their work placed on the *Index*. In addition, the parenthetical instruction urging Issy to expunge her *Index*

[20] John Logan records that the Irish Christian Brothers chose Gill as the main printer of Catholic instructional primers in the mid-nineteenth century, leading to them becoming the main supplier of Catholic textbooks within the new national education system. In the later part of the century they published a myriad of devotional works for an adult audience. It is perhaps this association that leads to Joyce making this Press the butt of his joke. However, while Gill's books may have been effectively put out at the cost of the Church, their circulation was anything but dismal. See John Logan, 'The National Curriculum', in *The Irish Book in English 1800-1891, Volume IV*, ed. by James H. Murphy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 499-517 (see especially pp. 514-5).

beautifully illustrates the malleability of what was, and was not, considered acceptable by the Church of Rome at various points in time.

The first of these formerly banned writers is the Irish Jesuit Richard Archdeacon (who also wrote under the name McGillacuddy, hence the pun at 440.15), whose seventeenth century tract, *A Treatise on Miracles*, Alfred Webb claimed to have been the first printed book to appear in both English and Irish.[21] The *Catholic Encyclopedia* reports that his *Theologia Tripartita* was placed on the *Index* in 1700 owing to its treatment of the *peccatum philosophicum* (*CE*, 'Richard Archdeacon'). Despite the fact that his alleged error was later corrected, he continues to be referred to in subsequent editions of the *Index* as a writer who had previously been banned. The second example of Jaun alluding to a writer that had a less than straightforward relationship with the Catholic hierarchy, is his recommendation of Dante Alighieri's journey through hell as portrayed in the *Comedia*, here humorously renamed *Through Hell with the Papes*. The very fact that Dante included a number of popes in his vision of hell speaks for itself in terms of the fine line between orthodoxy and dissent that the poem negotiates, something that has naturally been of interest to both readers and censors throughout the centuries. But, bearing in mind the fact that Jaun alludes to the *Index* specifically, it is perhaps also Dante's polemical essay, *De Monarchia*, which Joyce has in mind. As the American Lutheran scholar George Haven Putnam (1844-1930) noted, ironically the bitterly anti-ecclesiastical *Commedia* escaped condemnation or even expurgation from Rome, whereas *De Monarchia* was placed on the *Index*, a discrepancy that he attributes in part to the patriotism and desire for Italian literary glory of the Church's censors.[22] If

---

[21] For information on Archdeacon see Alfred Webb, *Compendium of Irish Biography: Comprising Sketches of Distinguished Irishmen, and of Eminent Persons Connected with Ireland by Office or by their Writings* (Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son, 1878), along with the *Catholic Encyclopedia* entry.

[22] George Haven Putnam, *The Censorship of the Church of Rome and its influence upon the Production and Distribution of Literature: A Study of the Prohibitory and Expurgatory Indexes, Together With Some Consideration of the Effects of Protestant Censorship and of Censorship by the State: Volume II* (New York and London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1907), p. 308.

Joyce was in fact aware of this discrepancy, then his association of the *Commedia* with the *Index* is perhaps another Joycean dig at the inconsistency of Rome.

All of the textual and cultural allusions contained in the passage quoted above contribute to the Catholic texture of Jaun's speech by the simple virtue of their inclusion. However, some do seem to resonate more than others in terms of the content of the whole. For example, Jaun's reference to the pious fiction of Fr. Francis Finn, S.J.— an American born Catholic of Irish descent who achieved great popularity with his novels for Catholic young men—seems worthy of further consideration as allusions to almost all of his productions appear in the *Wake*, and the majority of these in Chapter III.2.[23] These allusions are different in nature from, say, Joyce's extensive use of Chiniquy in Chapter I.7 as, rather than engaging with the details of Finn's prose, he seems content to allude simply to his titles. Yet, in the context of this mock-religious speech, references to these books for children could be said to contribute to the passage's anticlerical dynamic in a poignant manner, as these texts bear witness to the extremes that the Church was willing to go to in its quest to indoctrinate the young. To take the point further, a title such as *Percy Wynn* (a coming-of-age narrative that centres on a blonde haired, blue-eyed boy, who recognizes the power of Faith to see himself through adversity[24]), could be seen as yet another identification for the ultra-pious Jaun. It is most easy to see the influence of these schoolyard morality tales in the juvenile games that constitute the 'Mime' in Chapter II.2, as Shaun, the blonde blue-eyed angel, wins out ahead of his dark, diabolic brother.

But returning to our recommended reading list, Issy is advised to 'skim' over Dante and others, presumably because the contents of such works are aimed at 'mostly boys', i.e. these texts are far too intellectual for a girl like her. But Jaun does go on to provide further recommendations, this

[23] McHugh lists eleven allusions to titles by Fr. Finn in his *Annotations*, which account for the majority of the cleric's output.
[24] See Francis J. Finn, *Percy Wynn; Or, Making a Boy of Him* (Charlotte, NC: TAN, 2000), *passim.*

time targeted at 'chiefly girls' (440.21). The humorous and fantastic titles given at this point in the lecture do not point to specific sources in the manner of the works discussed above, perhaps a consequence of the fact that Jaun believes that a 'sifted' approach to learning is best for females, as it will do their 'arts good' (440.19-20; in this instance, given Jaun's lascivious nature, it is difficult not to read 'arts' as a euphemism for 'arse'). For example, by advising Issy to 'trip over sacramental tea into the long lives of our saints and saucerdotes, with vignettes, cut short into instructual primers by those in authority for the bitterment of your soughts' (440.21-4), he advocates a practice in the Catholic Church that has often been criticised: the belief that lowly laypeople (those 'soughts') should take their faith second-hand from the relevant authority, rather than embark on a study of Church history and Scripture themselves. Furthermore, Jaun seems more concerned that Issy will obey social etiquette, and learn to take tea properly, than that she will pay attention to her primer on the lives of saints.

It should be noted that Jaun has advocated a distinctly 'feminine' approach to hagiography from the outset, and in the opening paragraphs of his lecture we find allusions to female saints with popular cults from across the ages. These consist of a punning reference to the third century saint Agatha of Sicily, a virgin martyr who was famously tortured by having her breasts cut off ('and where's Agatha's lamb?' [430.35]); to the visionary of Lourdes, St. Bernadette ('and how are Bernadetta's columbillas?') [430.35-6]; to Julian of Norwich, the fourteenth century anchoress whose mantra of 'all will be well' was immortalised by T.S. Eliot in the *Four Quartets* ('and Juliennaw's tubberbunnies?' [430.36]), and to a St. Eulalia, a name that is recorded twice in many hagiographical dictionaries, relating to Saint Eulalia of Barcelona and Saint Eulalia of Mérida, although it is likely that both cults have the same origin ('and Eulalina's tuggerfunnies?' [430.36-431.1]).[25] Shortly after this

[25] This image is perhaps intended to build upon the idea of female duality that is frequently associated with Issy.

burst of allusions comes a reference to a female Religious who was actually a contemporary of Joyce's, but who had, following her premature death from tuberculosis in 1897, already inspired an enormous cult by the first decades of the twentieth century, and that is to Thérèse of Lisieux. This figure emerges as Jaun appears to lose his place in the order of service, querying 'Where the lisieuse are we and what's the first sing to be sung?' (432.29-30), a construction that perhaps relates to the overlap between French and Irish Catholic imagery, and indeed the manner in which models of virtue from across Europe were incorporated into the Irish tradition.[26]

Returning again to Jaun's list of recommended reading, a further imagined volume, '*With Flageolettes in Send Fanciesland*', appears to rewrite history with a female audience in mind. The title in question relates to the brutal tradition of self-flagellation associated with the Franciscan monastic order, but, in this formulation, the violence has been transformed into something rather more delicate sounding, belonging to the world of fantasy and fancy (this sense is communicated via the suffix '-ette', as well as the imaginary world that is conjured by the term 'Fanciesland'), a shift that clearly buys into established stereotypes regarding woman's nature. This is perhaps intended to invoke an exalted and idealised vision of holy men that Jaun would have Issy buy into, a fairytale vision of the pantheon of Catholic saints that ignores bloody realities.

Yet of all the representatives of the Church that are alluded to in Jaun's list of recommended reading, one in particular stands out in terms of suggesting a potential source of inspiration for the form and content of the lecture as a whole, and that is Jaun's reference to the Lenten 'lore' of Cardinal Cullen. The role of this figure has already been briefly outlined in the Introduction, as have the

[26] Joyce makes an allusion to Thérèse in the 'Hades' episode of *Ulysses*, when he describes an obituary that offers 'thanks to the Little Flower' (*U*, 6.161), an extremely popular sobriquet for the deceased nun. As I have discovered, this reference is in fact anachronistic as, despite the growing popularity of Thérèse, notices dedicated to her in the Irish press cannot be found as early as 1904, although they begin to appear shortly thereafter. With this in mind, Jaun's question might also relate to a sense of temporal confusion.

practical changes his tenure brought about in terms of the day to day lives of ordinary Irish Catholics. It is, however, the particular ramifications of the presence of Cullen in Chapter III.2 that I now seek to address.

Carnival Cullen's '*Lentil Lore*' (440.9)

Cullen's impact was perhaps somewhat neglected in Church histories written in the first three quarters of the twentieth century, but, as previously discussed, his role was brought to the fore by Larkin's ground-breaking and influential historiography, which introduced a new orthodoxy to the study of the Irish Church by conceptualising the massive changes wrought by Cullen as a 'devotional revolution'. Cullen's impact was also poignantly and humorously summarised by the contemporary satirist Francis Mahony, writing as 'Father Prout', when he spoke of the 'Cullenisation' of Catholic Ireland. This loaded pun suggests that colonisation was not only enforced by the British Empire, but also by the Ultramontane Cullen, and also complements Stephen's declaration that he is 'servant of two masters […] an English and an Italian' (*U*, 1.638).[27]

The connection that Mahony seeks to establish between Cullen's Ultramontane policy, and the might of the Imperial power, is, as previously noted, controversial. The notion that Cullen betrayed Ireland's political needs in favour of seeking to establish a 'Catholic Ascendancy' that reinforced the authority of Rome has most recently been challenged in Ciaran O'Carroll's book *Paul Cardinal Cullen: Portrait of a Practical Nationalist*, in which he argues that Cullen's actions ultimately benefited the Irish national cause.[28] Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that in the Ireland of his day Cullen's actions

[27] Cited in Bowen, p. x.
[28] See Ciaran O'Carroll, *Paul Cardinal Cullen: Portrait of a Practical Nationalist* (Lancaster, PA: Veritas, 2008), *passim.*

frequently met with criticism from some nationalists, with the *Dublin Evening Mail* announcing on June 16th 1866 that,

> the papal church in Ireland is no longer Irish but in the strictest sense Roman […] The Irish Catholic Church of forty years ago has vanished and the people have got an inexorable and mysterious tyranny in its stead […] In the process of stripping it of its ancient national character Dr Cullen has been the great instrument of the Court of Rome. And for this memorable and odious exploit he now receives the scarlet hat.[29]

The columnist goes on to wonder at the delusion of the masses that are able to 'howl a Jubilate' while the Pope and Dr. Cullen proceed to engineer this outrage.[30]

This piece of journalism forcefully expresses its wonder at the Irish people's willingness to unquestioningly embrace the rule of Rome, a view that is particularly relevant to this study given that this very sentiment appears to be echoed by Joyce himself, or one of his narrative avatars, in the *Wake*. In a description of the Morphios or masses in the Question and Answer session of Chapter I.6, the narrator adopts an approach that appears to be close to that of the *Mail* columnist, and skilfully parodies the manner in which the crowds have unified 'their voxes [or voices] in a vote of vaticination' (142.19). This beautiful pun conjures up images of a vaccination that induces loyalty to the emerging nation of Vatican City. According to the narrative voice, under the influence of this powerful inoculation, the masses are prepared to 'crunch the crusts of comfort due to depredation, drain the mead for misery to incur intoxication [and] condone every evil by practical justification [becoming] ruled, roped, duped and driven by those numen daimons' (142. 19-23), a sequence that could be taken as a précis of Joyce's entire approach to the social effects of Roman Catholicism in Ireland.

[29] Cited in Bowen, p. 141.
[30] *Ibid.*

Given the cultural centrality of Cullen, it is hardly surprising that a fictional engagement with this figure was not new territory for Joyce as he began to compose Chapter III.2. In fact, the Cardinal emerges at heated moments in both the surviving portion of the *Stephen Hero* manuscript, and the published text of *A Portrait*. In *Stephen Hero*, Cullen is on Stephen's mind as he realises that his fellow Debating Society members revere the 'memory of Terence MacManus'—a militant nationalist rebel whom Cullen controversially refused to honour with a lying-in-state at the Pro-Cathedral in Dublin[31]—'not less' than that of the ultra-conservative Cullen (*SH*, 178). By the time that Joyce came to revise this material for *A Portrait*, this sense of nationalist outrage was transferred to Simon's friend, Mr. Casey, who openly scoffs at Cullen as part of his onslaught against Dante Riordan's support for the Irish clergy: 'O, by God, he cried, I forgot little old Paul Cullen! Another apple of God's eye!' (*P*, 43). Again during the Chistmas dinner scene, anger at the Catholic clergy's neglect of the Irish national cause has been transferred from Stephen himself onto the older generation, as his father expresses his dismay at the manner in which the bishops of Ireland 'betrayed' MacManus (*P*, 43). These examples illustrate the manner in which Cullen and his Church provoked the anger of anti-clerical nationalists like Simon Dedalus, although even in the juvenilia we can see Joyce's desire to distance himself from such a heavy-handed reactionary position that involves the adoption of staunch nationalist principles.

But returning to Chapter III.2, Jaun's recommendation to Issy of Carnival Cullen's '*Lentil Lore*' (440.9) as appropriate reading matter may seem like a rather throwaway remark designed to ironically conflate this austere giant of the Roman Catholic establishment with a celebratory carnival. Indeed, in its original sense, a carnival is a *carne* or meat festival held to celebrate the end of Lenten

[31] See John Paul Riquelme, '*Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young* Man: transforming the nightmare of history', in *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. by Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 103-21 (p. 114).

austerities. Yet the allusion is in fact perfectly historically accurate, and Cullen issued a number of lengthy Lenten pastorals throughout his career that were reproduced for the consumption of the public. It is difficult to determine how widespread these documents might have been, or what sort of print run they would have enjoyed, but a surviving copy held at the British Library indicates that James Duffy published Cullen's pastoral letters in a cheap pamphlet format, presumably for a wide distribution. Furthermore, genetically speaking there is strong evidence to support the idea that Joyce initially conceived of Shaun's address to his sister as a kind of Lenten pastoral. In the earliest drafts of the chapter he warns, 'O be careful during this lenten pastoral season when spring is in the making' (47482b-16; *JJA* 57: 33). This idea also crops up in the well-known description of this section of the *Wake* that Joyce sent to Harriet Shaw Weaver that I quoted earlier in the chapter.

Taken together, these allusions point to Cullen's *Lenten Pastorals* as one likely source of inspiration for Jaun's speech. But regardless of whether or not Joyce had a particular printed source in mind when he came to pen Chapter III.2, there is something distinctly Cullenite and (albeit ironically) pastoral about Jaun's speech as a whole. A pastoral letter differs from a sermon, the genre more often associated with Jaun's lecture by *Wake* critics, in a number of aspects. A sermon is almost always composed by the priest by whom it is delivered, and is often modelled on a particular Bible passage that forms the basis of a reflection on how scriptural lessons might benefit the lives of the gathered company. A prime example of this genre are the sermons reproduced in Vaughan's *Sins of Society*, where the extrapolated morals of a series of New Testament parables are applied to scenarios encountered in modern day life. Where the topic of a sermon is not a single passage from Scripture, preachers nevertheless usually employ narrative tropes in order to locate their message within the

'story' of everyday life, although the elegance with which this is done of course depends upon the skills of the orator.

In contrast, a pastoral letter, usually referred to as simply a pastoral, is composed by a higher authority than a local parish priest, usually a Bishop or Cardinal, to be read aloud at Mass by each local clergyman. Furthermore, these documents are often concerned with the dissemination of specific information, rather than communicating a poignant narrative. This 'top down' system of spreading the word is echoed by Jaun when he states that his message comes not from himself, but 'from above. The most eminent bishop titular of Dubloonik to all his partybusses in Dellabelliney. Comeallyedimsel-damsels, siddle down and lissle all!' (432.19-22), a phrase that alludes to the role occupied by Cullen in Dublin for almost three decades. A blunt style of communication that lacks any real narrative thrust is a feature of Cullen's pastoral writing that also finds an echo in Jaun's heavy-handed transmission of information (I have cited examples from both texts alongside one another immediately below). Of course there are also substantial differences between the two, and Jaun's erratic and often angry, self-serving outbursts can hardly be said to directly mimic Cullen's careful prose. Yet in terms of more fully understanding the power dynamics that underpin Joyce's parody of the Irish clergy in Chapter III.2, I do feel that the pastoral model is worthy of as much consideration as sermonising discourse.

1. Milk and white meats are allowed as usual at one meal every day in Lent, except Ash-Wednesday and Wednesday and Friday in Holy Week. On Sundays such meat and eggs can be used at every meal.

2. Eggs are allowed on every day, except the first and

Never miss your lostsomewhere mass for the couple in Myles you butrose to bridesworship. Never hate mere pork which is bad for your knife of a good Friday. Never let a hog of the howth trample underfoot your linen of Killiney. Never play lady's games for the Lord's stake. Never lose your heart away till you win

last Wednesdays, and all the Fridays in Lent.

3. Meat is prohibited on All Wednesdays, all Fridays, Saturday of the quarter tense, and the four last days of Holy Week. On all other days it is permitted at one meal.[32]

his diamond back.

(433.10-5)

Further parallels can, moreover, be drawn between Cullen's pastorals and the content of Chapter III.2. For example, Jaun's condemnation of 'secret satieties' (435.31) maps onto Cullen's particular obsession with the evils of Freemasonry, a position that was later echoed by clerics like Callan in the sermonising handbook mentioned above as a possible source for the chapter. In broader terms, the importance placed on correct female behaviour that is a constant theme of Jaun's diatribe, particularly in matters concerning sex and sexuality, also connects to Cullen's concerns for the proper behaviour of Irish Catholic women in the 'modern' era, something that is illustrated throughout his pastorals as he warns against excessive vanity in dress, and against modern entertainments such as parties and drinking. This insistence on modesty for Irish Catholic girls comes through in his 1854 Lenten pastoral in a manner that connects particularly strongly with Jaun's concerns:

> Never engage in those improper dances imported from other countries, and retaining foreign names, such as Polkas and waltzes, which are so repugnant to the notions of strict Christian morality [...] and are at direct variance with that purity and the modesty of the female character for which Ireland has ever been distinguished.[33]

The theme of dance emerges twice in Chapter III.2, once in Jaun's warning to Issy regarding men who

[32] Paul, Cardinal Cullen, *Pastoral Letter of His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland, etc. to the Catholic Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Dublin, on the Holy Season of Lent* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1854), pp. 10-1.
[33] Cullen, p. 7.

might trespass 'on your danger zone in the dancer years' (439.3), and again as he threatens her with violence if he learns that she has been performing 'tangotricks with micky dazzlers' (444.27)—allusions that clearly conflate modern dance with sexual indiscretion. The latter comment seems to be bound up with a reference to Joyce's daughter Lucia, as contained in the threat, 'I'll homeseek you, Luperca' (444.35-6). This is probably a nod to Lucia's own brief career as a dancer that was taking off around about the time that Joyce was developing this passage. Jaun's excessive reaction to such activity obviously contrasts starkly with Joyce's own enthusiasm for his daughter's pursuits, although it could be Giorgio who is being humorously characterised as a prude in this instance.

Cullen's pastoral messages would, of course, only reach those following the demands of the faith by attending Mass regularly, and therefore he concentrates on the behaviours expected within the confines of 'respectable' practising society. But in terms of immoral behaviour that more blatantly flouted the rules of polite society—particularly the issue of prostitution—neither Cullen's pastorals, nor surviving Catholic sermons from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, have a great deal to say on the matter, an indication perhaps of the fact that such matters were thought to belong to the private realm of the confessional, rather than the public realm of the pulpit. Furthermore, when Jaun does engage with this issue, as illustrated above, this is most prominently done in relation to anxieties over the nature of the social purity movement.

In her study *James Joyce, Sexuality and Social Purity*, Katherine Mullin has registered some surprise at the fact that there was, in Ireland, no home-grown branch of the anti-vice purity movement so popular with English and American Protestants.[34] This is a lack that seems odd given the obvious overlap between Catholic and Protestant attitudes to sexual morality, and, indeed, the staunchly

[34] See Katherine Mullin, *James Joyce, Sexuality and Social Purity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 20-1.

conservative Cullen might have seemed just the man to take up such a mission. This question is then a troublesome one, yet Mullin's pertinent query has recently been dismissed outright by Madeline Parsons. By way of smoothing over the apparent discrepancy that Mullin seeks to bring to the fore, Parsons argues that in Ireland there was actually far more tolerance of prostitution than in Victorian and Edwardian England. In order to explain how 'these non-judgemental attitudes are expressed in contemporary Catholic culture' she cites sources as diverse as the philosophy of Aquinas, a sermon by Vaughan himself discussing the role of Mary Magdalene, and the comments of Oliver St. John Gogarty, in order to attempt to prove that the Catholic approach to prostitution was the more forgiving model.[35]

Parsons' commentary does reveal some of the complexities inherent in understanding the Catholic approach to prostitution in the nineteenth century, difficulties that are exacerbated by the fact that there is so little surviving evidence of this topic being discussed from a Catholic perspective. But the corollary of this ambiguity cannot simply be that the Catholic institution itself adopted a liberal, tolerant approach to prostitution. Certainly in the case of Cullen, when he does speak of the problem of vice in a letter to his favourite correspondent, Tobias Kirby, he appears to feel that the British administration has been too lenient towards 'fallen women', rather than too harsh. This is something that, in his view, comes at the expense of ordinary God fearing people:

> In Dublin alone the expenses of the poorhouses have amounted some years to £60,000 and all the good done amounts to this, that some hundreds of women with illegitimate children and prostitutes and bastards are supported and that some four hundreds of poor old women and men are helped to die before their day.[36]

[35] See Parsons, pp. 232-3 and *passim*.
[36] Cited in Bowen, p. 161.

In broader terms, the arch-conservative nature of the Irish Church in the decades following Cullen's sweeping Ultramontane reforms—an institution that took its cue from the deeply conservative agenda being promoted by Rome— simply does not fit with the liberal, accepting tone that Parsons seeks to establish.

Mullin's surprise over the lack of an organised Catholic purity movement in Dublin in the years before Joyce fled does, then, open up a debate that ought to be returned to. And I would suggest that this idiosyncrasy can be just as easily explained by political circumstance as by fundamental ideological differences. Lacking the arm of the British State behind them, reformers such as Cullen had to battle long and hard to have Catholic values represented in the public sphere, something that is illustrated by the Cardinal's long-running battle for Catholic education in Ireland, and his dogged pursuit of a Catholic University. As Cullen's surviving correspondence illustrates, these questions occupied his time and thoughts far more than the problem of vice, a priority that makes sense given that he took over the religious stewardship of Ireland just a couple of decades after the repeal of the majority of the Penal Laws. A further reason why the Catholic hierarchy may have wished to disassociate themselves with the activities of the vice crusaders is the fact that such groups were explicitly associated with the influence of the Imperial British State. In such circumstances, it would have hardly been politic for the Catholic hierarchy to have been seen to be in collusion with these organisations, especially given that proselytising was a crucial part of the purity project.

It is also pertinent to note that, in the decades following the inception of the Free State, the Catholic Church, now backed up by a Catholic government, did tackle the problem of prostitution in the red-light district of Dublin, better known as the 'Monto', in a very concerted manner, something

that is mentioned in a footnote by Mullin. Within just a few short years the brothels in the area had almost all been cleared, an endeavour that was largely performed by Frank Duff's 'Legion of Mary', a Mariological prayer sodality and socially active group founded in Dublin in 1921. As Duff's latest biographer explains, this project was kick-started by the foundation of the Sancta Maria hostel for reformed prostitutes in Dublin in 1922.[37] Operating under a Rome-sanctioned Marian banner, and with a larger degree of political freedom at hand, it seems that Irish Roman Catholics now felt confident enough to enact their faith on the streets in a manner that in many respects mirrored the methods employed by the Protestant purity campaigners. While this movement may have been relatively alien to the Joyce that wrote *Ulysses*, the work with which Parsons is primarily concerned, it formed a crucial part of the social and religious landscape in Ireland by the mid-twenties, the period during which Joyce primarily developed Book III of the *Wake*.

'*Bring the devil era*' (473.08)

As I have demonstrated throughout this chapter, the Catholic discourse espoused by Jaun gestures towards, and appears to have been inspired by, a range of sources that are in reality historically and geographically diverse, creating an uneven tapestry of doctrinal demands that Jaun assumes the girls will accept without question. The possible texts drawn on range from Vaughan's Catholic crowd-pleasing sermons that were possibly inspired by the methods of the Protestant evangelical preachers, to Dante's risqué politics, Archdeacon's questionable theology, Finn's proselytising children's stories, and Cullen's Roman triumphalism, to give just a selection of examples. When one realises this, it

[37] See Finola Kennedy, *Frank Duff: A Life Story* (Tunbridge Wells: Burns and Oates, 2011), pp. 78-85.

quickly becomes apparent that the values of the one true Church that Jaun wishes his audience to invest in, actually rest on far shakier foundations than his confident voice would have us believe. The notion of the malleability of the Church's teaching is one that relates back to the tenets of Catholic Modernism, as outlined in the Introduction, particularly with regards to the manner in which writers associated with this movement understood the evolutionary nature of doctrine. However, it should be noted that, as we saw in Chapter I.7, Joyce's focus does not appear to be on 'high' theological questions, but rather on the manner in which the Church's rule provokes complex, and sometimes contradictory, social mandates, placing the girls in an impossible position.

But if Jaun's sermon is actually modelled after a Church that has developed its 'unchanging Word' (167.29) in response to a long and complex history of thought and practice, then this is certainly not the image of the new Catholic Ireland that is projected as the chapter draws to a close. Here, we hear a prophecy of the moment when 'the west shall shake the east awake' (473.22), i.e. the time when Gaelic Ireland shall be gloriously reborn. At this moment a heavily romanticised Shaun, in the guise of 'rural Haun' (471.35), embarks on a 'photophoric pilgrimage' (472.17) to an idealised Irish past that is described in nauseatingly adulatory tones by the narrator. As the tone of the passage begins to shift, Shaun-Haun becomes 'the crooner born with sweet wail of evoker, healing music' (471.36-472.1), a description that in my view serves to ironise, rather than affirm, the tropes of this kind of cultural fetishism.

This ludicrously inflated portrait of Ireland past—a portrait that is laden with images associated with a rural locale, folklore, and the west of Ireland, and that playfully incorporates several words modelled after Gaelic linguistic patterns—could be understood as a Joycean dig at the manner in which the Catholic Ireland of old was presented by the writers associated with the Anglo-Irish

literary revival. Indeed, in his 1998 study *Joyce and the Anglo-Irish*, Len Platt has characterised Joyce's approach to such literature as an all-out polemical assault.[38] Yet a striking feature of the mode of 'revivalism' that Joyce experiments with here is its almost exclusively Catholic nature, a fact that would seem to suggest that the author is more concerned with parodying the visions and aspirations of Catholic nationalist writers. In this scenario, the holy Haun is hailed by the masses as 'our rommanychiel!' (472.22), and 'our pattern sent!' (472.25). As the dawn of the Catholic Free State of Cosgrave and de Valera looms ever closer, Haun's journey is terminated, for now, with an appropriately definite sounding 'Amain' (473.25).

[38] See Len Platt, *Joyce and the Anglo-Irish: A Study of Joyce and the Literary Revival* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998), *passim.*

'Sweet madonine' (158.1)

Issy

Through the priestly personae that pervade the *Wake,* Joyce skilfully unravels the 'Word' of both the Irish clergy and the institution for which they speak. Yet it is important to note that when it comes to exploring the social dynamics of Irish Catholicism, Joyce is also concerned with the experiences of those who make up the congregation, and particularly with the lives of Irish Catholic women. Indeed, in Chapter III.2, the power dynamic between priest and people takes centre stage, as Jaun instructs the girls who follow adoringly in his wake.

Catholic girlhood is represented in collective terms in the book by the group of 'Maggies' or rainbow girls, twenty-eight girls that represent the days of a menstrual cycle, and who become twenty-nine when they are accompanied by Issy. As is the case with her brother Shem, Issy speaks rarely but is often present, for example as one of the girls possibly involved in HCE's crime in the park, and as the object of desire that her brothers fight over in the 'Mime' of Chapter II.1. However, in the densely wrought 'monologues' that occupy pp. 457- 61 and pp. 527-8 in Book III, and in the footnotes that punctuate the children's 'Nightlessons' of Chapter II.2, Issy's distinctive, often lisping and gossipy voice, clearly emerges, a voice that is further delineated by the fact that it often directly addresses a 'double': a sister, or an alter ego.

Perhaps as a consequence of this striking duality, many attempts have been made to identify Joyce's potential models or sources of inspiration for Issy. A list of the most plausible identifications that have been put forward includes the two Isoldes that appear in some versions of the Tristan legend;

Dean Swift's young lovers or 'Esthers'; Lewis Carroll's Alice Liddell, as well as Isa Bowman, the girl who played the role of Alice on the London stage; 'Peaches' Browning, the sixteen-year old who married a fifty-one-year-old real estate mogul creating scandal in 1920s New York, or indeed any young girl loved by a prurient older man; the psychologically divided Christine Beauchamp who was the subject of Morton Prince's *The Dissociation of a Personality* (1906); Joyce's own troubled daughter Lucia; the 'Colleen Bawn' of Dion Boucicault's play of the same name, and finally the goddess Isis from *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*.

All of the above suggestions are supported by the *Wake* to a greater or lesser extent. Yet in terms of understanding the actual significance of Issy's character in relation to Joyce's own interpretation of the female psyche, and in terms of the power dynamics of the book as a whole, the critics are appropriately divided and perplexed. Given that Joyceans have reached such vastly different conclusions with regards to the same material, it is worth briefly recapping the most influential critical reactions to Issy at this juncture.

Despite the complexities and contradictions inherent in Issy's presentation in the *Wake*, some of the earliest critical responses to her are simply dismissive. Glasheen describes Issy as a 'triumph of feminine imbecility' in her *Third Census*, while Michael H. Begnal characterises Issy's response to Mamalujo in Chapter III.3 as a 'mindless monologue'.[1] These remarks are very brief, and perhaps not fully considered. However, a more substantial critique of what is seen as Joyce's limited approach to female subjectivity appears in Margot Norris' *The Decentered Universe of 'Finnegans Wake'* (1974) which particularly attacks Joyce's representation of female narcissism. Norris argues that characters like Gerty, Molly and Issy are incapable of true 'self-awareness' as they are so caught up in their own

[1] Adaline Glasheen, *Third Census of 'Finnegans Wake'* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), p. 138.

vanities. This view was most likely influenced by the rise of the 'second wave' of feminist criticism in the late sixties, developed by critics such as Kate Millet who saw Joyce as simply reiterating a primitive male understanding of women.[2]

In feminist criticism of the 1980s a more nuanced understanding of what Joyce might be attempting to achieve with Issy did, however, begin to emerge. But in many instances further probing of this troubling literary creation seems to have caused the waters to become increasingly muddied. This state of affairs is exacerbated by the fact that Issy cannot easily be marshalled into the models most commonly invoked in feminist criticism, for she constitutes neither a straightforward stereotype of passive femininity born of Joyce's misogynist imagination, nor an intellectual subject who challenges patriarchy with the prowess of her mind. These difficulties are apparent in commentaries by Shari Benstock and Bonnie Kime Scott, both of whom have attempted to 'recuperate' Issy's discourse for feminism in their own ways. Benstock views Issy's enthusiasm for all things sexual as a positive acceptance of that which is 'human', and Kime Scott claims that Issy's uncensored libidinous discourse gives voice to 'a denied part of humanity, which both Freud and Joyce wished to summon forth from the glass'.[3] In a convoluted discussion of Issy's footnotes, Jean-Michel Rabaté has also implied that through Issy's language Joyce airs a kind of feminine voice that had previously been buried, likening the author's treatment of his young female protagonist to his desire to listen to his troubled daughter until he finally understood her.[4]

But regardless of the difficulties of comprehension, these commentators are surely correct in asserting that Joyce's rendering of Issy represents a radical break with previous literary representations

---

[2] Norris, p. 53.

[3] Shari Benstock, 'The Genuine Christine: Psychodynamics of Issy', in *Women in Joyce*, ed. by Suzette Henke and Elaine Unkeless (Brighton: Harvester, 1982), pp. 169-196 (p. 190); Bonnie Kime Scott, *Joyce and Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Brighton: Harvester, 1984), p. 187.

[4] Jean Michel Rabaté, *Joyce Upon the Void: the Genesis of Doubt* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), p. 105.

of female subjectivity. Still, despite the fact that critics have grappled with the implications of this challenge for the *Wake*'s overarching vision of gender and subjectivity, what is remarkably missing from the critical heritage is a sustained commentary on how Issy's interruptions might impact upon the book's precise engagement with certain social and religious ideals, discourses that as we have seen in the previous chapter are of central concern in the Watches of Shaun. Furthermore, when precise contexts for Issy's character were explored, this was most often done rather narrowly either in relation to the new psychiatry practiced by the likes of Morton Prince, or to the life of Lucia Joyce and her increasingly deteriorating mental health. These are significant contexts certainly, but ones that are not so prominent or consistent as the association of Issy with a particular brand of devotional Catholicism.

Of course it is not possible, nor would it be desirable, to analyse Issy in exactly the same realist mode that one might adopt when approaching earlier Joycean girls such as Emma Clery, Milly Bloom, or Gerty MacDowell. Nevertheless, it is important to note that through his depiction of Issy's flirtations and frustrations, often presented in colloquial, 'girlish' phrases, Joyce succeeds in creating a character who, in spite of her archetypal dimension, often feels very human to the reader. Moreover, as I go on to argue throughout this chapter, Issy often connects very strongly to the 'real' world of *fin de siècle* Catholic Ireland, an idea that is firmed up through strong intertextual links with the 'Nausicaa' episode of *Ulysses*.

With these observations in mind, I will consider Issy's speeches in Book III and her longest footnote in II.2 (placed first in narrative terms, but which was written quite late in terms of the composition history) as distinct responses to the repressive dictates of Catholicism, as vocalised by Jaun, in Ireland post-Cullen. My broader objectives are to offer further insights into Joyce's own

conception of the role of unmarried girls in Catholic Ireland, as he was finally able to understand and reflect upon the issue through the radical new aesthetic developed in the *Wake*.

'Mind your veronique' (458.14)

As I have noted in the previous chapter, it is difficult to locate criticism that considers Jaun's lecture in in Chapter III.2 in relation to a historically and culturally specific culture of Catholicism, and a rare example of this kind of commentary is the valuable study by Cheryl Herr. With that said, it is however something of a disappointment to note that Herr's attitude towards the part played by Issy in the chapter is oddly brief and idealistic. Writing in relation to Issy's monologue, a speech that in both narrative and thematic terms constitutes a direct response to the complex net of social expectations that Jaun has laid at her feet, Herr asserts that this knotty piece of prose renders 'the church not only innocuous but also incredible', and goes on to state that 'in the oddly ideal world of the *Wake*, the sermon is harmless entertainment, and the church […] effectively defused as a social force'.[5]

Herr is of course correct in identifying comic elements in Issy's speech, and at the most basic level the passage in question (the speech that runs from pp. 457.25-461.32) can be understood as simply a burlesque of the Romance tradition in which the heroine offers a piece of tatty old 'nosepaper' as a token of devotion to her departing hero, in a manner that may well have been inspired by the crude parody of the Tristan legend that Joyce had worked on shortly after publishing *Ulysses*.[6] Furthermore,

[5] Herr, pp. 258-9.

[6] The 'Tristan and Isolde' vignette is considered to be one of the foundational 'nodes' for the *Wake* by the influential genetic critic David Hayman. The vignette in question dates from the spring of 1923, and therefore belongs to the first period of writing post-*Ulysses*. Jed Deppman has described the vignette as 'a Hollywood style version of the medieval tale', and goes on to state that the '1923 *Wake* vignettes neither mimic medieval forms of language *per se* (à la Pound) nor join the ongoing Gaelic revival (à la Yeats) [but instead constitute] *medieval* material [...] reinscribed in, or by, *modernist* aesthetics' [Deppman, 'The Return of Medievalism: James Joyce in 1923', in *European Joyce Studies 13: Medieval Joyce*, ed. by Lucia

it seems likely that these earlier, more heavy-handed attempts, were one source of inspiration for the speech, and the earliest pencil drafts of Jaun's lecture have far more in common with the Tristan sketch than anything that appears in the published version of Book III. Of course, it is also clear that the published version is a far more complex affair than the early rough sketch. Particularly striking is the manner in which Joyce moves from the abstractions of his early attempts, towards a piece that, like Jaun's pastoral, incorporates a large number of socially and culturally specific allusions, within which the Catholic Church of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century looms large.

The passage in question is peppered with allusions to the props and practices of the brand of Catholicism that can be traced back to Cardinal Cullen's reform of the Irish Church. As this passage has been fairly thoroughly annotated by McHugh, it would not be illuminating to list every allusion to devotional culture at this point.[7] The pattern that emerges in Issy's approach to this material is, nevertheless, worthy of note, as this illustrates the manner in which she is enmeshed in Catholic culture—an aspect of the narrative that Herr has pushed to one side.

Throughout her III.2 monologue, Issy repeatedly frames her sexuality in religious terms, and this tendency manifests itself in a variety of ways. In the playful caution, 'so you'll mind your veronique' (458.14), Issy appears to allude to the Veronica, or *Sudarium*, one of the most important

---

Boldrini (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 45-78 (pp. 45-6)]. Despite Deppman's claim for the essentially *modernist* nature of the vignettes, when it comes to 'Tristan and Isolde' it is hard to see the sketch, in its first emanations at least, as anything other than a hackneyed version of a courtly love scene, in which the hyperbolically Americanised Tristan goes on his way, leaving his devoted lover behind.

[7] One allusion to devotional Catholic culture that McHugh misses is a reference that points to a phenomenon known as 'The Odour of Sanctity', something that comes through in Issy's invocation of a 'fragrant saint' (460.5). As Frank Graziano notes, this phrase was probably originally intended to describe a metaphorical aura of holiness. But it has come to relate to a literal smell emanating from the bodies of the saintly on or after their deaths—usually an otherworldly, floral fragrance. In terms of Joyce's contemporaries, one of the most famous examples of a Religious who was said to emit the 'odour of sanctity' on her deathbed was Thérèse of Lisieux. (See Graziano, *Wounds of Love: The Mystical Marriage of Saint Rose of Lima* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 80-4).

relics in the Christian tradition.[8] However, in this formulation the relic appears to be employed as a prop in her flirtation strategy, an item that at the end of the day is perhaps nothing more than a piece of 'memento nosepaper' (457.34). More sexually explicit is her transformation of the Forty Hours devotion, or *Quarantore*, into a phrase that appears to allude to the rehearsal of multiple sexual positions, as she refers to an action that was instigated 'between us by your friend the pope, forty ways in forty nights' (458.4-5)—an allusion that possibly derives from the *Karma Sutra*. These are just a couple of examples of a clear trend. However, in my view, Issy's constant recourse to Catholic language in order to express her sexual desires does not straightforwardly equate to the subversive liberation from Church authority that Herr describes. Rather, as I argue throughout this chapter, it illustrates, in complex ways, her absolute entanglement in this culture.

Issy's preoccupation with Catholic devotional imagery certainly suggests a contextual link between this passage and the burgeoning culture of Romanised Irish Catholicism promoted by Jaun. Furthermore, when one looks beyond the passage's broad religious feel, a series of strong intertextual echoes invite the dedicated reader of Joyce towards a more specific contextual frame of reference. This is achieved through the manner in which the piece repeatedly invokes the 'Nausicaa' episode of *Ulysses*, inviting the reader to compare Issy with Gerty MacDowell, a girl who is seen to be absolutely entrapped by the culture of Irish Catholicism current in Edwardian Dublin on the afternoon of June 16th 1904.

[8] The '*Sudarium* of St. Veronica' is a piece of cloth believed to contain an imprint of the true face of Christ that appeared when a women in the crowd (apocryphally known as Veronica) wiped his face on the road to Calvary. The cloth was venerated in the early years of the Christian church, but disappeared at some point after the Sack of Rome. Despite its ancient heritage, this relic is not so far removed from the culture of Irish Catholicism in Joyce's time as one might assume. Devotion to the 'Holy Face of Jesus' was given a new impetus after two French nuns claimed to have seen visions promoting this mode of devotion in the 1840s, and the devotion itself was officially sanctioned by Leo XIII as recently as 1885. A history of the devotion, written from a Catholic perspective, is included in Dorothy Scallan's *The Holy Man of Tours* (Charlotte, NC: Tan, 1990).

It has become something of a commonplace in historicist readings of *Ulysses* to claim that in 'Nausicaa' Gerty's failure to attract a husband can be connected to a uniquely difficult set of social circumstances in turn of the century Ireland. As described in the Introduction, in post-famine Ireland two demographic characteristics recur: an increase in postponed marriage and levels of permanent celibacy (two factors that have informed the critical appreciation of the earlier fiction). In this world, Gerty's exploitation of images contained in the popular press, sentimental fiction, and in the Marian imagery of the Church, cannot ultimately compensate for her physical disability. What has received less attention, however, is the fact that in the *Wake* Joyce also explores the complexities of life for Irish Catholic girls, often invoking the very culture in which Gerty resides.

While a number of critics have made a general comparison between Issy and Gerty, the precise intertextual echoes that bind the characters together have not been previously considered, despite the fact that a whole host of such connections exist that Joyce deliberately created. For example, Gerty's reliance on cosmetic products such as the 'eyebrowleine' recommended by Madame Vera Verity in the *Princess Novelette* (*U*, 13.111) can be easily compared to Issy's rather more dubious sounding 'Pouts Vanisha Creme' (461.2-3). So too can the earlier character's love of her 'wealth of wonderful hair' (*U*, 13.116), a physical attribute that Issy also takes pride in when she boasts of her 'wonderful kinkless and its loops of loveliness' (458.31), a pun that indicates that her crowning glory is not detracted from by bothersome kinks.

Continuing in this vein, Gerty's preoccupation with dress as she pores over the fashion pages of the popular press is also echoed in Issy's concern with self-presentation. Indeed, a line from *Ulysses* that relates to this very subject—Gerty's reflection that 'at last she found what she wanted at Clery's summer sales, the very it, slightly shopspoiled but you would never notice' (*U*, 13.159-60)—is

explicitly appropriated by Issy in order to deliver a rather back-handed compliment to her double: 'But you'll love her for her hessians and sickly black stockies, cleryng's jumbles, salvadged from the wash' (459.7-9). Another precise intertextual allusion can be found in the colour scheme of the outfit that Gerty imagines for her dream wedding: 'a sumptuous confection of grey trimmed with expensive blue fox' (*U*, 198-9). This scheme is imagined rather less elegantly by Issy, as she intends to buy an 'expensive rainproof of pinked elephant's breath grey of the loveliest sheerest dearest widowshood over airforce blue' (461.5-6).

Turning from a concern with dress in itself to a consideration of the dream lifestyle that a successful performance of femininity is designed to bring about, the social aspirations that underpin Gerty's desire to become 'Mrs Reggie Wylie T.C.D.' (*U*, 13.196), a social promotion that would bring this working class Catholic girl closer in status to the Anglo-Irish ascendancy, might also be detected in Issy's talk. As Issy describes how she will practice 'oval owes and artless awes' in front of the mirror (one of many puns in the *Wake* that plays on the relationship between alpha and omega) it is plausible that she is practising ways of shaping her mouth in order to produce the 'correct' pronunciation. This connection is firmed up by Issy's description of a potential lover as 'my prince of the courts who'll beat me to love!' (460.12-3), a phrase that conflates a royal image with the language of the lawn tennis court, the sport of the upper classes. Alas, in this instance, the fantasy is deflated in a manner that can be compared to Gerty's realisation that her dream of marriage is never to be. The violent overtones that are established by the second meaning of the phrase 'beat me to love' add a darker edge by invoking the idea of domestic violence. Such an image also forms a part of Gerty's own reflections of the sometimes grim reality of marriage, as her own parents' union appears to have been marred by violence.

The allusions discussed thus far serve to strengthen the contextual link that Joyce established between the two young women, despite the fact that they do not relate specifically to the important religious theme. Yet it also the case that in terms of specifically Catholic imagery there is a significant overlap between the two characters. Gerty's preference for Marian blue, a colour that she notes to have been recommended by the fashion pages, perhaps finds an echo in Issy's III.2 speech when she offers Jaun 'a sprig of blue speedwell to help him on his way' (458.13-4), or when she compares her eyes to the 'sapphire chaplets' (459.1-2) of a rosary. The most obvious element that binds Gerty and Issy together in terms of the Catholic theme is, however, the fact that devotional language rings outs throughout 'Nausicaa', as it does with Issy in Book III. This effect is achieved in the earlier work by cross-cutting Gerty's 'seduction' of Bloom on Sandymount Strand with scenes from the nearby Star of the Sea Church, where the congregation are reciting the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and in III.2 through the cluster of allusions to Catholic culture mentioned above. It should additionally be noted that this theme is particularly prominent in a second monologue delivered by Issy in Chapter III.3—a passage that I return to below.

The manner in which Joyce appears to explicitly invite a comparison between Issy's speech and the 'Nausicaa' episode does, to my mind, support an understanding of the Wakean passage as social critique, foregrounding Edwardian Dublin as one important historical anchor for the passage by bringing to mind Joyce's earlier deft critique of a very specific sexual economy. The nubile Issy might have certain physical advantages over Gerty, yet, as Jaun's rambling diatribe forcefully illustrates, she too is caught up in a religious culture that promotes a range of complex, and sometimes contradictory, ideals, when it comes to appropriate behaviour for young women.

But along with similarities between Joyce's two young female protagonists, there are of course significant differences. Aside from the obvious change in technique between *Ulysses* and the *Wake*, a crucial difference is the sheer extremes to which Joyce takes this portrait of female flirtation strategies. As I have intimated in Chapter 1, the explicit association of a Catholic cleric with sexual activity, and perversity, in itself pushes boundaries. With Issy too Joyce goes beyond any previous renderings of female desire, and during the passage in question she does not so much 'package herself' for the male consumer, a metaphor that Garry Leonard has employed in his commentary on Gerty,[9] but literally offers herself up, at one moment pledging loyalty to Jaun alone, at the next contemplating trysts with other lovers. Whereas Gerty, with her queenly bearing, modest dress and face that, owing to the use of iron jelloids, is 'almost spiritual in its ivorylike purity' (*U*, 13.86) attempts to mimic the Virgin, Issy appropriates the religious ideas that she has absorbed in a very different manner. Rather than try to imitate the Virgin, Issy makes use of this imagery as part of her seduction technique. Here modesty has no place and her speech becomes increasingly obscene, culminating in a lisping promise to 'nakest open my thight' (461.26-7), as she proceeds to ask Jaun to guide or coach her in the sex act.

The flagrantly obscene nature of Issy's speech is perhaps what provokes Herr to claim that in this passage the sexually repressive dictates of the Church have been successfully defused, an approach that complements Benstock's assertion that sex should be celebrated as a radical and affirmative aspect of Issy's character. Yet, in terms of the narrative arc of the chapter, it is difficult for the reader to feel any positivity about the exchange that has taken place. As the chapter literally reaches a climax, Issy's journey towards satisfaction is abruptly cut off by Jaun in the following beautifully executed set-piece:

[9] See Garry Leonard, *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1998), pp. 98-141.

> Coach me how to tumble, Jaime, and listen, with supreme regards, Juan, in haste, warn me which to ah ah ah ah. . . .
>
> — MEN! Juan responded fullchantedly to her sororal sonority, imitating himself capitally with his bubbleblown in his patapet and his chalished drink now well in hand (461.30-5).

This scenario in some respects mirrors the manner in which Bloom takes over the narrative at the climax of 'Nausicaa', as the moment is realised not by Issy herself, but by Jaun, when he completes her cries with an appropriately religious and patriarchal exclamation. His bold and celebratory 'Ah-MEN!' does, moreover, consolidate the various 'Amens' that have punctuated the Shaunish discourse throughout the opening chapters of Book III. To consolidate the victory he believes that he has won, his cry is followed by an image that merges a celebratory toast with the chalice of the Mass, as he raises a 'chalished drink' to salute Issy's words, commenting smugly that she is a very 'gullaby' (462.15) or gullible girl, before being waved on his way by an entourage of adoring Maggies.

'For the price of two maricles' (425.19-20)

As we have seen, allusions to devotional Catholic culture are an important feature of Issy's response to Jaun's pastoral lecture in Chapter III.2. However, this monologue does not stand alone, and a complementary speech occurs in the following chapter in a section that is shot through with Catholic, and more specifically Marian, devotional imagery. The figure of the Virgin Mary emerges in important ways in the *Wake* and indeed throughout the Joycean *oeuvre*, yet it is an aspect of Joyce's engagement with Catholicism that has received little sustained critical attention. One commentator who has

recently undertaken an investigation of Joyce's attitude towards the Virgin is Mary Lowe-Evans in *Catholic Nostalgia in Joyce and Company*. In this study, Lowe-Evans provides some potentially useful contextual information relating to the startling elevation of the status of the Mother of God in the nineteenth century Church. However, the manner in which she describes Joyce's approach to this phenomenon is deeply problematic.

As I have previously observed, throughout her study Lowe-Evans endeavours to present Joyce as a man with latent, conservative Catholic sympathies, and this bias also emerges in her approach to his alleged 'Mariolatry' when she argues thus:

> My interpretation finds Joyce's nostalgic designs on Mother Mary's womb to be conservative; in conformity, that is, sometimes with official, sometimes with quasi-official Catholic Church strategies for controlling its members […] For in the case of Mary, the church, too, is a fetishist, and indeed Joyce's fetishistic preferences reflect the Church's.[10]

Lowe-Evans' claim that Joyce was essentially a religious conservative would be a radical one if she were able to prove it. However, I believe that she has reached this conclusion through a faulty chain of reasoning, which put simply runs as follows. She seeks to define Joyce's 'womb fixation', a desire to return to the mother's body that is a feature of Freudian psychoanalysis, which she then goes on to connect to Joyce's feelings towards the Blessed Mother. Yet even if Lowe-Evans' analysis of Joyce's psyche in terms of his 'Mother Lode' is correct, and this is by no means assured, his longing for his mother does not equate with his assenting to the Church's position when it comes to the importance of Mary. Furthermore, throughout her discussion she neglects to discuss the many instances when Joyce

[10] Lowe-Evans, pp. 65-6.

either explicitly or implicitly criticises the Catholic view of Mary, a fact that further undermines the credibility of her argument. Given the importance of Mariology to Issy's III.3 monologue, coupled with the astonishing manner in which Lowe-Evans has attempted to distort Joyce's viewpoint, it is then worth pausing briefly at this juncture in order to consider in some detail both the history of Marian devotion in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the manner in which Joyce responds to this phenomenon in his fiction.

In the 'Scylla and Charybdis' episode of *Ulysses*, amidst a reflection on the insubstantiality of paternity as opposed to the physical reality of maternity, and indeed the reality of maternal love, Stephen Dedalus airs his cynicism regarding popular devotion to the Virgin Mary when he makes a derisive reference to 'the madonna which the cunning Italian intellect flung to the mob of Europe' (*U*, 9.839-40). A likely candidate for the 'Italian intellect' that Joyce had in mind is Pio Nono. This pope's particular devotion to Mary is evident throughout his writings, but his most famous and influential contribution to Catholic Mariology is his 1854 encyclical *Ineffabalis Deus*, a document that officially defined the dogma of the Immaculate Conception for the first time. Contrary to popular belief, the dogma does not refer to the conception of Jesus by a virgin mother, but rather to the belief that Mary is the only human being to have been conceived without the stain of original sin. The debate about the proper nature of the Mother of God had raged for centuries. However, in keeping with the Church's persistent strategy of denying the historical evolution of its own teachings, the Pontiff is keen, throughout his encyclical, to emphasise that this is not a new development, but rather a consolidation of the way in which Our Lady has been understood and venerated throughout the ages. Unsurprisingly, this piece is full of hyperbolic idolatry. Neither God the Father nor God the Son

receive much attention, but Mary is constantly exalted and praised, described for example as 'more beautiful than beauty, more lovely than loveliness; more holy than holiness'.[11]

When Pio Nono's long reign came to an end upon his death in 1878 the 'Italian intellect' did not by any means lessen its focus on promoting devotion to Mary, and his successor Leo XIII, the Pope who led the Church during the early lifetime of Joyce, also had extreme Marian tendencies. During his time in office, Leo gained the nickname 'The Rosary Pope' owing to the record-breaking eleven encyclicals that he issued promoting various forms of Marian devotion, such as the wearing of scapulars dedicated to Our Lady, and the formation of Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin, the kind of body of which Joyce was Prefect while a student at Belvedere College. Leo's preoccupation with the Rosary is evident in a surviving pamphlet issued by Cardinal Herbert Vaughan to the priests of England, a document that begins with a note from the Cardinal reminding local clergymen to obey the Pontiff's command to form a Confraternity of the Rosary, if they have not done so already, and which attaches an English translation of Leo's encyclical that Cardinal Vaughan described as 'eminently practical' in character.[12]

Throughout his encyclical, the Pope somewhat tenuously links the three 'Mysteries' of the Rosary to modern life: for the Joyful Mysteries, he writes on the topic of 'Dislike of Poverty', advising people to 'know their place'; for the Sorrowful Mysteries he scorns the modern 'Repugnance to Suffering' and advises that pain is good for the soul, and finally for the Glorious Mysteries, he laments contemporary 'Forgetfulness of the Future', a lack of consideration for the world to come. The convoluted device of mapping each cluster of decades of the Rosary, or 'Mystery', to a set of events in

[11] Pius IX, *Ineffabilis Deus: Apostolic Constitution Issued by Pope Pius IX on December 8, 1854* <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius09/p9ineff.htm>. Accessed 1 January 2012 (para. 24).
[12] This document is held by the British Library, but no details of printing or publication survive.

the life of Christ, and then mapping these onto the concerns of the modern world, is an important one, as it was, and is, a popular way of approaching the Rosary in group settings, often practised in schools. This device of applying the message of the Rosary to contemporary concerns is explicitly (mis)appropriated by Issy in III.3.

Leo XIII was also particularly concerned with another form of Marian veneration that has important echoes in Joyce's fiction: the 'Litany of Loreto', a prayer that is officially known as the Litany of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Probably as a consequence of its primarily oral function throughout the centuries, the text of the Litany is extremely unstable, and the fact that the wording was open to manipulation is something that Leo appears to have taken advantage of. In 1883, he added a personal touch by prescribing for the whole Church the inclusion of the invocation '*Regina sacratissimi Rosarii*' (Queen of the Most Holy Rosary), and in 1903 went on to add '*Mater boni consilii*' (Mother of Good Counsel). These additions are of course incorporated seamlessly into the prayer, giving the impression that these identifications for the Virgin have always been so.[13]

The gushing prose often employed to venerate the Virgin, a tradition that is of course extremely scripturally suspicious, seems likely to have provoked Joyce's scorn. Indeed, the manner in which Marian devotional material of this period sometimes reads more like a poem addressed to a lover than a prayer seems to be what is being mimicked in Stephen's juvenile villanelle in *A Portrait*. The poem is inspired by Stephen's reflection on the moment when 'Gabriel the seraph had come to the virgin's chamber', and is startlingly erotic: 'Your eyes have set man's heart ablaze/And you have had

[13] A fairly substantial account of the history of the Litany is provided in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, albeit with the expected biases in the manner in which it accounts for the evolution of this practice. More recently David Richo has discussed the evolution of the Litany in relation to Jungian psychoanalysis (see his, *Mary within Us: A Jungian Contemplation of her Titles and Powers* (Berkeley, CA: Human Development Books, 2007). The psychoanalytic interpretations that Richo applies to the Litany are in the main fairly outlandish and unhelpful. However, his account of the history of the devotion does appear to be sound.

your will of him. / Are you not weary of ardent ways?' (*P*, 223). The sexual tone of Stephen's poem, along with his later explicit rejection of this version of himself, is suggestive of Joyce's distaste for this kind of literature, but this does not quite account for Stephen's use of the term 'cunning' in relation to Rome's promotion of Mariology.

To my mind, Stephen's remark in 'Scylla' makes more sense when considered in relation to the broader history of the Church in this period. As described in the Introduction, the Church was in turmoil by the middle of the nineteenth century, facing threats from revolutionaries on numerous fronts. This threat continued as the century marched on with the rise of Biblical Modernism, a movement that was able to attack the Church's claim to authority with recourse to scripture. If the Church had engaged with its critics on their own terms, it is unlikely that it could have won many debates, owing to the simple fact that so many of their teachings and customs lacked a Biblical foundation. The more 'cunning' tactic was to retreat into tradition. When faced with the threat of the Protestant Reformation three centuries earlier the Church had dug in and turned to its glorious past, reaffirming through the decrees of the Council of Trent such practices as the issuing of indulgences, pilgrimages, the veneration of the saints and their relics, the production of icons, and of course Marian devotion. The same tactic was clearly effective in the nineteenth century also, and of all the cults promoted by the Church at this time in order to assert its authority by invoking tradition, the image of Our Lady—beautiful and modest, with her arms outstretched to comfort her children—was clearly one of their most powerful weapons.

The Church's temporal authorities may have wished to promote devotion to the Virgin Mary, but their cause was helped along by reports of events of a 'supernatural' nature that would bring the Virgin closer than ever to her people in the popular Catholic consciousness. The precise nature of the

relationship between increasing devotion to Mary, and an increasing number of Marian apparitions is the subject of some dispute, with historians and sociologists variously interpreting this phenomenon as both a symptom and a cause of a change in devotional culture.[14] However, what is certain is that Marian apparitions were central to the culture of Catholicism in which Joyce was raised, and to which he responds in his fiction.

In the first half of the nineteenth century two apparitions of Mary were reported in France, at Rue de Bac in Paris in 1830 and at La Salette in 1846, both of which were subsequently approved by Rome. A reference to Our Lady of La Salette appears to be present in the following Wakean phrase in Chapter II.1, a description of a hymn sung by a bunch of 'happy little girlychums' (234.34), again a phrase that chimes with 'Nausicaa':

> O, the swinginging hopops so goholden! They've come to chant en chor. They say their salat, the maidens' prayer to the messiager of His Nabis, prostitating their selfs eachwise and combinedly. Fateha, fold the hands. Be it honoured, bow the head. May thine evings e'en be blissful! Even of bliss! As we so hope for ablution. For the sake of the farbung and of the scent and of the hoilodrops. Amems. (234.34 – 235.5)

McHugh annotates this passage almost exclusively in relation to the obvious Islamic theme: '*salāat*' is an Arabic term for daily prayer, and the '*Sura Al-Fatiha*', or 'The Opener', is the title given to the first chapter of the Qur'an which practising Muslims should recite seventeen times daily. In context, the address to one 'Fateha' also clearly invokes Fatimah of the *Ahl al-Bayt*; she was the daughter of Muhammad who was closest to The Prophet, and a figure who is venerated across the Muslim world.

[14] Knock scholar Eugene Hynes provides a summary of this debate in his study *Knock: The Virgin's Apparition in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2008), pp. 98-108.

Again bearing the Islamic context in mind, 'His Nabis'—a phrase that conjures up the Hebrew word *Nabi*, meaning prophet—appears to invoke Muhammad himself.

This is not, however, the extent of the passage's religious frame of reference, and in a coincidence that we might imagine to have delighted Joyce, the Islamic terms map easily onto his Marian theme. The phrase 'the maidens' prayer' is what initially brings the Virgin to mind and, within this frame of reference, allusions to two Marian apparitions become apparent. 'Salat' maps onto La Salette, and 'Fateha' simultaneously becomes Our Lady of Fátima, a very well-known manifestation of the Virgin who was reported to have appeared to three children in rural Portugal in 1917. The word 'ablution', which conjures up the idea of 'absolution' along with its original sense, also heightens the Catholic dimension. A further confirmation of the overlap between two religious traditions comes at the close of the passage, as the language falls into the rhythm of a Sign of the Cross. Here, 'farbung' is the German word for dye, and the final two phrases relate to smell ('the scent') and water ('the holiodrops') respectively: elements that are arguably employed to create spectacle in worship in both traditions.

With these observations in mind, a sense of equivalence begins to emerge and this subtly executed comparison could be interpreted in positive terms as an appeal for common understanding across various traditions of faith. However, Joyce is yet again unable to remain neutral in his attitude towards religious expression. In this instance, the act of prostrating in prayer becomes an act of 'prostitating', or prostitution.

Returning to a consideration of the broader relevance of Marian appearances, undoubtedly the best-known apparitions of this era are however Bernadette Soubirous's reported visions of the Blessed Virgin Mary at the Grotto of Massabielle, close to the town of Lourdes in the foothills of the Pyrenees.

This site was made famous world over by subsequent claims of a large number of miraculous cures associated with water from this site, the sort of Marian miracles that Joyce appears to be alluding to when he has Shaun refer to 'the price of two maricles' (425.20), a derogatory pun that attaches a financial cost to a cure.

In both *Ulysses* and the *Wake* a handful of allusions to Lourdes appear, a number of which playfully pick up on the oral similarity between 'Lourdes' and 'Lord'.[15] However, the most substantial allusion to the pilgrimage site is attributed to Bloom as he observes a church service with characteristic distance in 'Lotus Eaters', and reflects on the power of belief:

> Thing is if you really believe in it. Lourdes cure, waters of oblivion, and the Knock apparition, statues bleeding. Old fellow asleep near that confession box. Hence those snores. Blind faith. Safe in the arms of Kingdom come. Lulls all pain. Wake this time next year (*U*, 5.365)

In its way, this response is as cynical as the remark made by Stephen in the library: Bloom is well aware that it is only 'blind faith' that can accept a belief in such cures. In contrast to his younger counterpart the humanitarian Bloom also finds room to reflect on the comfort that such a belief might bring to those who are suffering ('Lulls all pain'), a sentiment that cannot be detected in Stephen's crude caricature of Anne Kearns, rubbing Lourdes water into her lumbago, in his 'Parable of the Plums'.

The Virgin's presence did not recede as the nineteenth century progressed, and further significant Marian apparitions were reported and subsequently recognised by the Vatican at Pontmain and Pellevoisin in France in 1871 and 1876 respectively, and at Marpingen in South-West Germany in 1876. Given Joyce's particular concern with Catholicism in Ireland it is, however, hardly surprising

[15] For example, one of the midwives that Stephen spies on the beach is described as swinging her bag 'lourdily' (*U*, 3.32) and in the *Wake* a cry of 'My Lourde! My Lourde!' (299.6) punctuates the children's 'nightlesson' in Chapter II.2.

that the reported apparition to which he most frequently returns is the event that took place in the village of Knock, Co. Mayo in 1879, when several witnesses claimed that the Virgin Mary, flanked by St. Joseph and St. John the Evangelist, had appeared in front of the gable wall of Knock parish church.

The earliest reference to this event occurs in 'Grace', when Kernan, faced with being coerced into making a retreat, retorts, 'I bar the magic lantern business' (*D*, 194)—an allusion to a well-known conspiracy theory surrounding the apparition at Knock, namely that the image had been projected onto the gable wall of Knock parish church using a Magic Lantern.[16] Knock is barely present in *Ulysses,* aside from the brief mention by Bloom quoted above, a phrase that is picked up by 'The Nymph' in 'Circe' (*U*, 15. 3435-6). But this is a topic that Joyce returned to when he was working on the *Wake*.

There is some (albeit limited) evidence of Joyce's interest in Knock in surviving working documents, and in Buffalo notebook VI.B.5 (which dates from 1924) the following cluster appears:

> John MacPhilpin/ Tuam News/ Miracles of Knock
>
> ND/ S Jos/ S John. (VI.B.5.141)

This note clearly points to *The Apparitions and Miracles at Knock* (Dublin: Gill, 1880), a book written by the editor of the *Tuam News*, John MacPhilpin, as Joyce's source, but the information that he chose to take down is of the most basic kind. 'ND' simply designates 'Notre Dame', and the notes 'S Jos' and 'S John' relate to the figures that accompanied her, suggesting that he probably did not actually read the book. Further evidence of Joyce's interest in this area is potentially contained in notebook VI.B.14,

[16] Hynes notes that the Magic Lantern thesis gained popular currency very shortly after news of the apparition broke, something that was explicitly refuted by MacPhilpin (see Hynes, pp. 211-4).

the next notebook to be compiled after VI.B.5. In this document an explicit reference to the 'legend' of Knock is made, surrounded by several related images. But unfortunately as yet I have been unable to connect these notes to a specific source.[17]

What is certain is that Joyce decided to take up this theme when composing Chapter I.7, and amidst Shaun's character assassination of his brother is inserted a bizarre vignette that explicitly invokes Knock (the sequence that appears at 186.19 - 187.14). The narrative is, as ever, convoluted, but what 'facts' might be extracted run as follows. One evening Sackerson, here transformed into 'petty constable Sisterson', is on the evening patrol in 'Knockmaree, Comty Mea', when he encounters a staggering, drunken Shem on his way home from a visit with a 'protoprostitute' (186.25; 27). Shem is then either apprehended or rescued by the officer, although from what is unclear.

The conflation of 'Knock-Mary' with the Knockmaroon Gate in Phoenix Park, invites the reader to relate this incident to the crime in the park, something that might well account for the fact that events are so heavily obscured. But while this vignette makes little sense, it is clear that Joyce was aware of certain details of the original tale. As Hynes notes in relation to the Magic Lantern thesis, one popular theory was that a member of the Royal Irish Constabulary had produced the projection, a detail that appears to be reflected in Joyce's inclusion of a police officer.

---

[17] See p. 21 of Buffalo notebook VI.B.14, in which Joyce recorded the following phrases (the lettered sequence is taken from the Brepols edition for ease of reference): (a) quella santa donna/ (b) the yellow world/ (c) dislocated reason/ (d) tell in style of legend (Knock)/ (e) knights head on altar/ (f) priest/ (g) helmet, gauntlets &/ drawn sword/ (h) Helen & Montgomery/ (i) miraculised/ (j) pays de predilection/ for Devil (Brittany)/ (k) Delaney (Delauney)/ (l) ~~Jeremy De~~ Dazzler/ (m) the dubious pilgrim/ (n) the good overnoisy Sexton/ who does not genuflect/ enough before M/ St Michel. Entries (a), (c), (d), (f), (i) and (m) could all *possibly* be related to the apparition, and subsequent miraculous events associated with the pilgrimage site, and it would not surprise me if a book or pamphlet relating to Knock eventually proved to be the source of these notes. If this is simply a creative reflection on Joyce's part, then entry (d) provides a particularly revealing commentary on the way in which the events at Knock were becoming transformed and 'mythified' in the re-telling, a shift that was being enacted by journalists such as MacPhilpin.

More explicitly parodic is the following phrase, part of a wider pattern of references to the 'pollute stoties' of *Dubliners* that is a feature of this section of the work: 'the ligatureliablous effects of foul clay in little clots' (186.23). In this rendering, the famous clay of Knock that was scraped from the Church walls by pilgrims, and applied to the skin in the hope of a cure, is described in terms of its 'ligaturereliablous effects' to produce a Latinate sounding pun that, in both its written and aural dimensions, confuses the terms 'reliable' and 'unreliable', a confusion that, to my mind, challenges the value of the 'effects' in question. This theme will be taken up again by Mamalujo in Chapter III.3.

'*A glorious lie between us*' (427.36)

The allusions to Mariology discussed above serve to illustrate Joyce's cynical approach, and to counter the claims made by Lowe-Evans. Continuing in this vein, and returning to Issy's III.3 monologue, I further propose that this speech constitutes Joyce's most subtle and revealing parody of modern Mariology. At this moment, Issy appropriates devotional language in a manner that is far more subtle and perplexing than is the case with her speech in III.2, and the 'logic' of the passage as a whole is extremely slippery. However, to my mind the convoluted nature of the 'narrative' does not detract from the important critique that can be discerned in this passage. The piece ultimately highlights the gap between idealised discourse and a certain sort of reality.

The section in question (the passage that runs from pp. 527.3-528.13) begins with the speaker offering sympathy to her double or 'meme', clearly an aspect of herself. But her kindly words quickly slide into an accusation, and the sickly sweet phrase 'so sorry you lost him, poor lamb!' is followed by the observation 'of course I know you are a viry vikid girl' (527.4-5). Issy then moves on to an

adulatory description of herself/other, revelling in thoughts of physical beauty, while simultaneously striving to keep an important secret.

At the level of word play, Joyce incorporates two important types of Marian devotion in Issy's discourse: the Rosary and the Litany of Loreto. In this case, devotional language is not subverted in the crass, sexual manner that we saw from Issy in III.2. However, it is hardly put to orthodox use either. All three traditional 'Mysteries' of the Rosary are present, but rather than relating her Rosary to serious religious themes as is proper practice, Issy's first two punning allusions to the Rosary relate to less grandiose matters.

In Issy's words, the Sorrowful Mysteries, which include Christ's torture and execution, are reduced to 'soreful miseries' (527.10)—in context clearly a reference to menstruation, and when the Joyful Mysteries surface a few lines later, the frame of reference is again not a holy one. When Issy proclaims, 'O be joyfold! Mirror do justice, taper of ivory, heart of the conavent, hoops of gold!' (527.21-3) it is clear that she is absorbed with her own physical appearance rather than with the joys of the Gospels (another 'Nausicaan' connection). Furthermore, the primary allusion here is not to the Rosary, but to the Litany, and Issy's exclamations develop into a garbled version of the following titles for the Virgin: 'Tower of Ivory, House of Gold'. These particular images are familiar to readers of *A Portrait* as they are the very phrases that Dante tells Stephen she was teased over as a youngster by Protestant children. They provoke Stephen to link the image of the tower to Eileen's white hands and lead him to conclude that the metaphor in the Litany relates to 'a cold white thing' (*P*, 52), hardly an inviting image of the Blessed Mother. The fact that many Protestants have criticised the Litany for its excessive idolatry and unusually elaborate metaphors appears to be the context underpinning Dante's

anecdote,[18] but the prayer hardly fares any better in the mature Joyce's hands from an orthodox Catholic perspective. For Issy, the words have become drained of any religious content, as they are employed solely in the service of her own vanity.

As the speech progresses, it becomes increasingly clear to the reader that Issy is offering consolations and reassurances in response to an important and traumatic event, the nature of which remains obscure. As is often the case in the *Wake*, it is plausible that this event constitutes on one level a version of HCE's alleged crime in the park—a secret that Issy must guard at all costs, and the one piece of information that Mamalujo have been at pains to discover throughout the torturous interrogation that occupies the length of Chapter III.3. A further clue to what has taken place is however contained within the following phrases, which completes the Rosary sequence by alluding to the Glorious Mysteries:

> Still with me you, you poor chilled! Will make it up with mother Concepcion and a glorious lie between us, sweetness, so not a novene in all the convent loretos, not my littlest one of all, for mercy's sake need ever know, what passed our lips or. (527.35 - 528.3)

At the broadest level of interpretation, the 'glorious lie' could be the Resurrection itself: the most important of all the Glorious Mysteries. However, in context, the lie in question seems to be the blind that Issy proposes to pull down as a means to mask the truth. At this moment the transgression in question appears to have taken place within the convent walls, and Issy's reference to 'mother

[18] Just one of many examples of Protestant literature condemning the Litany published in the first half of the nineteenth century is the anonymous work *The Spirit of Popery: An Exposure of its Origin, Character, and Results. In Letters from a Father to his Children* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1840). After describing the Litany to his children, the author adds the following, 'I am sure, my dear children, it has been very difficult for you to restrain feelings of horror at the reading of such statements' (p. 216).

Concepcion', along with the generally titillating nature of her discourse, alerts the reader to the fact that this act may well have been of a sexual nature. The appearance of 'convent napkins, twelve, [and] one baby's shawl' that 'Good mother Jossiph' appears to know all about (213.28-9) within the load of laundry that the washerwomen labour over in Chapter I.8 appears to firm up this suspicion.

Claims of sexual activity within the cloister were certainly not new by the time Joyce came to produce the *Wake*. The sexual corruption of convent girls is an essential component in the Marquis de Sade's 1791 novel *Justine*. However, as Elizabeth Fenton notes, such accusations gained much wider credence during the American antebellum era, when a series of 'escaped nun's tales' appeared, primarily designed for an aggressively anti-Catholic audience.[19] Two works in this genre that Joyce certainly was aware of are Josephine M. Bunkley's *The Escaped Nun* (1855), referred to by Joyce in 'Epiphany 18',[20] and Maria Monk's infamous *Awful Disclosures* (1836), a book that appears in 'Wandering Rocks' as we witness Bloom '[turning] over idly pages of *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*' (*U*, 10.585-6). The alleged authoress of this tale is also alluded to very briefly in Chapter I.7, as Shaun describes the cowardly Shem 'moaning feebly, in monkmarian monotheme' (177.2), praying a garbled Hail Mary rather than joining the fray.

As is the case with Chiniquy, Joyceans have sometimes misrepresented or at least oversimplified the nature of this genre. Scholes and Kain label Bunkley's book 'a pornographic title', and David Pierce dismisses Monk's memoir as a work about 'funny goings-on in a convent'.[21] In actuality, both of these works are very far from pornography; they are written in a prudish, moralising

[19] See Fenton, p. 58 and *passim*.
[20] This book is not to be confused with Margaret Mary Moult's memoir of the same name, and in the same genre, that recounts her escape from an English convent in 1909: too late to be the text referred to in the Epiphany.
[21] James Joyce, *The Workshop of Daedalus*, ed. by Robert Scholes and Richard M. Kain (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1965), p. 28; David Pierce, 'The Reading Matter of "Wandering Rocks"', in *Joyce's "Wandering Rocks": European Joyce Studies 12*, ed. by Andrew Gibson and Steven Morrison (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 73-106 (p. 100).

style, and the gruesome details of the sexual abuses that are alleged to have taken place are scarcely made explicit.

It is of course highly unlikely that Joyce would have been taken in by these outlandish exercises in Protestant propaganda, and particularly in the case of Monk her story was quickly disproved. Her book does nevertheless appear to have lingered in Joyce's mind, a fact that is illustrated by his decision to include references to Monk in both *Ulysses* and the *Wake*, and perhaps more pertinently by the fact that in both III.3 and I.8 he plays with the suggestion that a baby has been conceived 'behind the veil'—an accusation that is at the heart of the *Disclosures*, and that was propagated further in a widely distributed image alleging to portray Maria and her child that appears in many editions of her book (an illustration of which is included as Figure IV).

Figure IV: Etching purporting to portray 'Maria Monk' and her child, used as a frontispiece in many editions of the *Awful Disclosures*.

But to return to Issy's disorienting speech, one fact remains clear despite the many twists and turns: whatever has taken place must remain hidden, presumably so that Issy can move forward and take her place in society. This appears to be what is at stake towards the end of her speech, as she describes future plans:

> It will all take bloss as oranged at St Audiens rosan chocolate chapelry with my diamants blickfeast after at minne owned hos for all the catclub to go cryzy and Father Blesius Mindelsinn will be beminding hand. (528.5-8)

Here the imagery suddenly becomes sumptuous, incorporating allusions to lavish foodstuffs, and diamonds, as Issy imagines walking down the aisle at St. Audeon's Roman Catholic Chapel, a mid-nineteenth century church that is situated on Dublin High Street, accompanied by Mendelssohn's 'Wedding March'. As was the case in Gerty's fantasy of becoming Mrs Reggie Wylie, T. C. D., some religious ambiguity is woven into the dream of social aspiration; 'as oranged' suggests a Protestant colour scheme, and St. Audeon's Catholic Church stands opposite an ancient Church of the same name that belongs to the Church of Ireland. Furthermore, Mendelssohn's march has more commonly been used in Protestant ceremonies.

In both instances, the introduction of Anglican imagery is in all likelihood a reflection of the actual social pecking order in turn of the century Dublin. Alas, just as Gerty's bubble bursts with the realisation that her dream wedding is 'not to be', so too in III.3 does the fantasy fail to endure. As the vignette reaches its climax, the confusion caused by Issy's split subjectivity again causes the reader untold difficulties, when one side of her being starts to fade away, calling out parting advice to her 'meme'. The final words of this speaking presence are anything but affirmative in nature. As she refers

to a future time when 'I lie with warm lisp on the Tolka' (528.13), we are left imagining a girl lying face down in the river. Furthermore, if we are to take on board the parallel that Fordham suggests between Jaun and Issy, and Laertes and Ophelia, then this image becomes a restaging of the tragic heroine's 'muddy death' (*Hamlet* 4:7).

The climax of Issy's monologue is ambiguous to say the least. However, when considering the broader relationship between Issy and her interlocutors, in some respects her discourse appears to have had the desired effect. The men who question her are left none the wiser with regards to Issy's secret. They hurl at her a multitude of unanswered questions, including a pertinent query that appears to relate to Issy's relationship with her father, 'Is dads the thing in such or are tits the that?' (528.15-6)—an inquiry that seeks to ascertain whether or not 'dad' is 'the thing' that occupies her so, but one that receives no intelligible response.

Mamalujo may have been unable to comprehend the meaning of what has just been said, as has the reader, but they have certainly picked up on Issy's Marian tone, something that is thrown back at her in the following 'riddle':

> Think of a maiden, Presentacion. Double her, Annupiacion. Take your first thoughts away from her, Immacolacion. Knock and it shall appall unto you! (528.19-21)

On one level this passage appears to function as a humorous summation of the irreverent approach to modern Mariology that is a feature of the book as a whole. Here, Mamalujo probably allude to three apocryphal stories associated with the early life of the Virgin, only they are told in reverse from her Immaculate Conception, to the Annunciation made to her mother St. Anne, and finally to her

Presentation at the Temple; significantly, they are all legends that had played a crucial role in the debate over the Immaculate Conception in the first place.[22] In this formulation, Pio Nono's 'Immaculisation' of Mary has been humorously deflated to an 'Immaculation', presumably a kind of in-built inoculation against sin. The Knock apparition also comes under attack, as a reference to the apparition is conflated with a famous line from Matthew's gospel: 'Knock, and it shall be opened unto you' (Matthew 7:7). This conflation is, in my view, designed to present the whole phenomenon as something appalling.

At the level of narrative this passage is, however, crucial. This is particularly true in terms of attempting to understand the impact that Issy's outburst has made. The fact that Mamalujo respond in such a confused manner suggests that, although Jaun clearly had the better of Issy in the previous chapter, here she has succeeded in beguiling her audience. What this might mean in broader interpretative terms is, nevertheless, ambiguous. In becoming the guardian of her father's secrets Issy appears to take on the role of her mother. Furthermore, the 'solution' that the Four suggest is also troublesome. The phrase 'Cluse her, voil her, hild her hindly' (528.21), is most obviously glossed as 'Close her, veil her, heed her kindly', suggesting that regardless of any kindly intentions, she must be closed off from the world.

[22] A telling example of the impetus to elevate the status of the Virgin in the mid-nineteenth century by relaying apocryphal stories about her life is the following work, published by the Dublin press of James Duffy at about this date: M. L'Abbé Orsini, *The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God: Taken from the Traditions of the East, the Manners of the Israelites, and the Writings of the Holy Fathers*, trans. by Patrick Power (Dublin: James Duffy and Co., c. 1860). In this work, which originally dates from the thirties, Orsini describes the details of Mary's life from her conception to her assumption into heaven, something that is clearly related to his broader aim of promoting the pious belief in the Immaculate Conception.

As I have intimated above, Issy's appearances at the *Wake* are so disparate and perplexing that it is almost impossible to determine where a reading should rightly begin or end. Criticism has, nevertheless, particularly focussed on Issy's role as the authoress of the footnotes that accompany Chapter II.2, since this is the moment where she appears to come into her own as a disruptive force within the work. Though Issy is, at moments, given a voice with which to challenge the patriarchal religious culture that surrounds her, it could be argued that this device gains its fullest expression in Chapter II.2.Here, the scenario draws together the social and religious anxieties that have haunted her throughout, this time incorporating a further relevant context: the nature of education for Irish Catholic girls. Given that this was also one of the last sections of the *Wake* to be composed, it seems appropriate that the current discussion of her role should conclude with some comments on this important section of the book.

The canonical view of the genetic evolution of the *Wake*, as described by Hayman, is that the medieval vignettes that Joyce produced in the early twenties constitute the foundation of the 'nodal' structure of the book.[23] However, documents that recently came to light, and that were purchased by the National Library of Ireland in 2006, do offer some further insight into the earlier development of Issy. The manuscript that Luca Crispi has dubbed 'The Young Issy' sketch (a facsimile and transcription of which is included as Appendix B) presents an early identification for Issy that differs significantly from the mock-medieval heroine of the 'Tristan' sketch. In this brief encounter, a flirtatious schoolgirl, who is not yet given a name, is presented at her lessons. We are told that she knows how to 'stagemanage her legs' in the correct position, and a list of somewhat ironic virtues are

[23] See David Hayman, *The 'Wake' in Transit* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1990), *passim.*

attributed to her, including 'her prudence', 'her piety', 'her pity', and 'her charity'. The (mock) religious associations that Joyce intends to establish with this character are also made clear. The list of attributes sounds very much like numerous prayers and litanies that describe the qualities of the Virgin, and indeed the qualities that ought to be demonstrated by good Catholic girls. This theme, is, moreover, suddenly made explicit as it is revealed that the girl in question is 'in point of fact Saint Dymphna', the seventh century Irish saint who was martyred at Geel in Flanders after attempting to flee from the advances of her incestuous father.[24]

Crispi has, in his catalogue notes, pointed out that none of the material included in this sketch was ever directly incorporated into further compositional documents for the *Work in Progress*. However, the germ of the idea that Joyce scribbled down in this early piece certainly does appear to have remained on his mind. That this young version of Issy, or an Issy-type character, should be associated with this important saint, a patroness of the 'mad' and victims of incestuous abuse, seems more than appropriate given the incestuous scenarios that recur in the *Wake*. Furthermore, the notion of a young, sexually precocious Catholic schoolgirl sitting at her 'lessons' is an idea that is at the centre of the children's 'Nightlessons' in Chapter II.2.

Experiences of maturation and learning, both social and intellectual, are naturally crucial in this portion of the work: a chapter that is famous for its striking page layout, which is set up to mimic the form of an academic essay, or an annotated primer. It has, moreover, long been established that Shem and Shaun write in the left and right margins respectively, changing places at half time, while Issy's flippant, and often unrelated, remarks appear in the footnotes.

[24] It is perhaps also worth noting that an allusion to a variant of Dymphna's name, 'Domant', appears in the concluding section of the *Wake*, in the phrase 'in the domnatory of Defmut' (593.21).

The amount of space that Issy is suddenly allowed has naturally invited feminist readings, and in a recent essay Marian Eide has interpreted Issy's contribution to the chapter as a straightforward inversion of the (male) intellectual order, when she observes that in II.2 'Joyce chooses for the girl writer the most scholarly space on the page, that of reference to the vast body of accumulated knowledge'.[25] Such inversion is easily recognisable as a feminist strategy to twenty-first century readers. What might be less immediately apparent is that similar challenges to the established social order were something that Joyce had ample chance to be exposed to as a young man. Several issues of *St. Stephen's*, the student magazine at University College during Joyce's day, contain a proto-feminist column entitled 'Girl Graduates' Chat', in which female scholars campaign for their rights. The fight for Irish women's right to equality in education and the workplace was, moreover, a movement that Joyce's friend, Francis Skeffington, was to become heavily involved in, and a campaign that his widow, Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington, would take on after his death during the Easter Rising of 1916.

Joyce himself was certainly aware of rumblings of reform for middleclass Catholic women in Dublin around the turn of the century, a movement that naturally found sympathisers within the University. A lengthy debate between Stephen and McCann (a surrogate for Skeffington) is recreated in *Stephen Hero* (*SH*, 49-52), and in addition Skeffington's polemical essay on Catholic women's right to Higher Education, 'A Forgotten Aspect of the University Question', was privately published alongside Joyce's 'The Day of the Rabblement' in 1901, after both had been blocked by the censors of *St. Stephen's*, in which he argued that amid the heated debate over University education for Catholic young men, women's rights had been overlooked. However, in my view, the more militant work of

[25] Marian Eide, 'Gender and Sexuality', in *James Joyce in Context*, ed. by John McCourt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 76-87 (p. 85).

Joyce's contemporaries in this area does not appear to have made much of an impact in terms of his approach to female intellectualism, something that is typical of the author's consistent rejection of political dogmas, a fact that is particularly apparent in the last work.

At rare moments in the book Joyce does make reference to pioneering female learning, for example in a passage that refers to 'the grandest gynecollege histories [...] in the Janesdanes Lady Andersdaughter Universary, for auld acquaintance sake' (389.9-11). The individual alluded to here appears to be Elizabeth Garrett Anderson (1836-1917), effectively the first woman in Britain to qualify as a medical doctor, and someone who was heavily involved in the campaign to extend opportunities in Higher Education towards women.[26] Yet in this formulation, the history of such an institution does not appear to be intellectual, but rather gynaecological. Furthermore, when Joyce does directly portray female 'learning' in the *Wake*, the scenarios that he creates often feature a libidinous scene between a prurient older male, and a young girl, for example an allusion in Chapter II.1 to when 'Headmaster Adam became Eva Harte's toucher' (251.28-9).

Joyce's playful approach to the question of education for girls is certainly far removed from the dry political discourse associated with Skeffington and Sheehy. Yet this is not a claim for Joyce's misogyny. The fact that Joyce produced such a radical literary experiment as Chapter II.2, a segment of the *Wake* in which experiences of female learning are foregrounded, seems to suggest that this was a topic that concerned him, even if he did feel that the debate should be had in different terms. And of course, the 'message' that he communicates here is far more ambiguous than anything produced by his contemporaries.

---

[26] Biographical details are taken from, M.A. Elston, 'Elizabeth Garrett Anderson', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/30406?docPos=1>. Accessed 1 January 2012.

In Chapter II.2, the highly fragmented prose renders a sense of narrative even harder to discern than is the case elsewhere in the *Wake*. However, as Hayman records in his *First Draft Version*, before Joyce took the decision to break up chunks of the text and incorporate them as footnotes, certain sections of the chapter were drafted out in a far more 'linear' fashion. Of these early pieces of writing, one in particular is potentially revealing in terms of contemplating a more 'realist' setting for Issy's footnotes:

> But her truest foible, as the little grey nuns with feline ingenuity will school her without fuss or without muss either, with Brother Agnus in their background, since today is well thine but whose will tomorrow's be, is to beg two makes in change for one wing. But when there's no more tay for sugar the cosey arrives that divinity showshapes their ends backview them how will we. For singleness of purpose is all their gender's bugbear especially when old which they all soon get to look.[27]

The setting suggested here is far from modern, but rather a conservative, Catholic one, in which the 'single on purpose' nuns bear the burden of their gender, under the watchful eye of one Brother Agnus. The interpretative value that one might attach to this scenario is perhaps compromised by the fact that Joyce chose to break this passage up, rather than include it whole in the final version of the chapter. Nevertheless it remains the case that when Issy does allude to her experiences of learning in the footnotes that appear in the published work, it does seem that her schooling has been rather limited and frustrating, as she refers to the 'Llong and Shortts Primer of Black and White Wenchcraft' (269.f.4), presumably an educational manual that teaches the craft of being a 'wench'. Her domestic

[27] Owing to the sheer complexity of this portion of the genetic dossier, I have taken this text from Hayman's *A First-Draft Version of 'Finnegans Wake'* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963), p. 154. This version was probably composed in the early thirties.

'concerns' are also illustrated, for example, in the note 'Skip one, flop fore, ' (271.f.2), a direction that amounts to a crude parody of a set of knitting instructions (i.e. 'knit one, pearl four') that then breaks down into (further) nonsense.

Despite the apparent lack of clarity and understanding in evidence in many of the footnotes, Kime Scott has celebrated their disruptive qualities, arguing that 'no other character in Joyce surpasses Issy in wordplay'.[28] This view is, however, largely unsubstantiated. The content of the footnotes is often so flagrantly nonsensical, that in many instances it would be possible to construct precisely the opposite argument: i.e., that Issy's outlandish responses represent the distance between her and the ostensibly academic discourse that is taking place 'above' her. Yet while, at times, Issy's footnotes feel flippant and insubstantial, this is not quite true of the famous example that appears on p. 279. This is, moreover, the passage where Issy's voice takes over and dominates proceedings for the first time.[29] As I have intimated above, this passage has been cited by a number of critics as representing the height of Issy's disruptive powers. It is also a passage that initially leaves the reader entirely perplexed, and a number of critics have commented on its narrative impenetrability.

Be this as it may, it is also the case that, as in the two examples of Issy's monologues discussed above, certain logical threads can be discerned; and indeed that many of the ideas invoked in the Book III passages, composed well ahead of Chapter II.2, recur at this moment. With this in mind, the following commentary will attempt to untangle some of the narrative knots and inconsistencies that are a feature of Issy's longest footnote, and to consider how this burst of feminine voice (the last passage that Joyce wrote that is primarily concerned with Issy's voice), might aid in our understanding of the

[28] Shari Benstock, p. 192.

[29] For ease of reference, all future references to this single, lengthy footnote will be accompanied by a parenthetical reference to the line number within that footnote.

power dynamics of the book as a whole, particular in relation to the situation of young women in conservative, Catholic culture.

Issy's address opens with what sounds like an erotic invocation: 'Come, smooth of my slate, to the beat of my blosh!' (l. 1). However, in a fast-paced manner that mimics the uneven tone of her III.3 speech, she quickly injects a suicidal proclamation ('I was thinking fairly killing times of putting an end to myself and my malody'), before sliding into some apparently unrelated advice to her sister regarding 'the propper way' to write (l. 3-6). This shift towards the discourse of education is an important one for the passage as a whole. Employing a strategy that might well be the product of the kernel of the idea that Joyce toyed with ten years earlier when setting out the 'Young Issy' sketch, the author makes it clear that Issy's concern with the 'proper' use of language is sexual rather than academic. For example, instead of seeking to conjugate verbs, she speaks of a time 'when we will conjugate [or copulate] together' (l. 8-9).

Issy's allusions to 'education' at this point are rather vague and insubstantial, but returning to the debate surrounding Higher Education for Irish Catholic women that I outlined above, as her footnote progresses, Issy's allusions in this area do become more specific. Indeed, as she declares that she will 'slip through my pettigo I'll get my decree and take seidens when I'm not ploughed first by some Rolando the Lasso, and flaunt on the flimsyfilmies for to grig my collage juniorees' (l.12-5) it becomes abundantly clear that Issy is now alluding to campus life. As McHugh notes, the 'Little Go' is the first BA examination at University College, Dublin, whereas 'ploughed' is university slang for failed. It then appears that, in order to reach her goal, Issy is required to negotiate an extremely tricky social situation. She must slip through her 'pettigo' or petticoat, but avoid being 'ploughed' or seduced

by any passing Lothario. Furthermore, it seems that she must flaunt herself, either in films, or in flimsy garments, in order to outdo her 'juniorees', presumably because they have the physical advantage.

Issy's imagination of her role within the University in some respects echoes the complex net of sexual and social demands that Jaun lays out for her in Chapter III.2. Furthermore, the end goal appears to be the same, and it is clear that Issy's prize is not to be an academic degree, but a marriage 'decree'. Her 'impending marriage' (l. 18-9) might then be Issy's objective, but as we saw at the close of her III.3 monologue, this is hardly a prospect that is presented in ameliorative terms. As McHugh again notes, Joyce wove into the passage intertextual allusions to songs such as 'A Married Woman's Lament' and 'The Sorrow of Marriage', imagery that directly contradicts the notion of a joyful bride.

At this point, the sense of 'narrative' that the reader has needed to work hard to retain breaks down yet further. Now comes a series of gossipy inquiries relating to the fates of other women, with comic names the likes of 'Olive d'Oyly', a reference of course to the 'Popeye' cartoons that had debuted in the late twenties, and 'Trestine von Terrefin' (l. 21; 24), a name that is perhaps intended to allude back to Joyce's Triestine years. These cultural nods seem to be largely comic, but as the footnote draws to a close some clarity of voice does again emerge, as Issy tells of the time,

> In Skokholme as I sat astrid uppum their Drewitt's altar, as cooledas as culcumbre, slapping my straights till the sloping ruins, postillion, postallion, a swinge a swank , with you offering me clouts of illscents and them horners stagstruck on the leasward! Don't be of red you blanching mench! This isabella I'm on knows the ruelles of the rut and she don't fear andy mandy. So sing loud, sweet cheeriot, like anegreon in heaven! (l. 27-32)

As I observed at the opening of this chapter, there has been a tendency in late twentieth century feminist criticism to understand Issy's flagrant sexuality in positive terms, with Shari Benstock arguing

that 'Milly and Issy give promise to yet another generation by demonstrating their enthusiastic acceptance of that which is "human" through an equally enthusiastic response in matters sexual'.[30] However, in my view, it is particularly difficult to understand Issy's enthusiasm in a positive light at this moment.

The pun 'cooledas' brings into focus two of Yeats' poems 'The Wild Swans at Coole' and 'Leda and the Swan', though it is the imagery associated with Leda's rape—a single violent act that sparks historical catastrophe—which is most prominent here. Phrases such as the poet's description of 'the great wings beating still / Above the staggering girl, her thighs caressed' (Yeats, l. 1-2), in my view find an echo in the description of someone or something 'slapping' (l. 28) as Issy awaits her fate. True, Issy's response to events appears to be at once casual and enthusiastic, as she asks her addressee not to turn red with embarrassment, yet as the passage reaches its climax, it becomes increasingly clear that the sort of 'sacrifice' upon an altar that is being described has not been made according to Issy's own desires, but as part of a bargaining strategy. In her own summary these are the 'ruelles of the rut'—the rules of the sexual game that she has apparently learnt from her 'old nourse Asa' (l. 20).

The language of bargaining first emerges in this passage as Issy remembers that 'you offer[ed] me clouts of illscents': clouds of incense that might belong to a druidical ritual, or indeed a conventional Catholic mass. These Catholic connotations become more pronounced when she begins to wind up, and the scene suddenly appears more realistic and culturally immediate as she describes,

> the good fother with the twingling in his eye [who] will always have cakes in his pocket to bethroat us with for our allmichael good. Amum. Amum. And Amum again. (l. 32-4)

[30] Shari Benstock, p. 190.

In many respects, this scenario draws together the suggestions of impropriety between Issy and one Fr. Michael that haunt the book. In this scenario, the priest appears to be offering young girls cakes in order to 'sweeten them up'. Moreover, it is difficult in context not to read the disturbing pun 'bethroat us' as a distinctly sexual one.

Despite the dark sexual undertones that characterise this passage entire, rather than rejecting or challenging the premises of this sexual economy, Issy simply appears to acknowledge its powers. Her repetition of the word 'Amum' might be intended to invoke the cyclical nature of the sexual economy, as the gauntlet passes from mother to daughter. However, at the more literal level it seems that she is simply repeating the word 'Amen' with her mouth stuffed full. Continuing in this rather accepting, passive tone, her closing moral is simply this: 'it's the surplice money, oh my young friend and ah me sweet creature, what buys the bed while wits borrow the clothes' (l. 35-7). This statement is typically convoluted, yet its underlying message seems clear enough. In order to obtain surplus, or more appropriately given the clerical theme, 'surplice' money, and a secure domestic situation, a young woman makes full use of her wits in order to forge her way ahead.

As has also been the case in the examples discussed above, the close of Issy's footnote is decidedly ambiguous when it comes to attempting to establish a clear meaning or 'message' for the passage. Yet it is also the case that several key ideas do recur. Joyce's frequent recourse to the idea of the clerical abuse of authority is, of course, critical rather than appreciative. But it is also the case that his portrayal of Issy's attempt to battle this authority with her sex is sympathetic to her plight. Furthermore, while Issy's knowledge of the machinations of the sexual economy could be understood as a sign of her empowerment, this theme also illustrates her absolute entanglement in such a destructive system. Where her 'practical' strategy, something that frequently seems to involve exploiting her sexuality to its fullest advantage, might actually lead her hardly sounds like a promising prospect.

But in truth, it is not possible to reach any firm conclusions regarding Issy's destiny, simply because we are given no clear indication of her future life. Ironically the final detailed description of Issy to appear in the book relates to a scenario that is furthest back in time, and at the opening of Chapter III.4 we are introduced to Issy in her crib, the 'infantina Isobel' (556.1). At this moment, the possible lives that are contemplated for her are of the most stereotypical, conservative, and Catholic nature. All of the outcomes that are imagined for Issy at this point involve taking a veil of one kind or another: first she appears as 'sister Isobel', 'the beautiful presentation nun' (556.5; 4), then as 'nurse Saintette Isabelle, with stiffstarched cuffs' (556.7), and lastly as 'Madame Isa Veuve La Belle, so sad but lucksome in her boyblue's long black with orange blossoming weeper's veil' (556.9-11). Continuing with this theme, as the narrator of this passage begins to tail off into a sleepy reverie, it is simply a circle of courtship, marriage, and wifely burden that occupies his mind, as he intones 'for soon again

'twill be, win me, woo me, wed me, ah weary me!' (556.20-1).Whether such a vision will come to pass or not is not a question that is easily answered. In my view, it will require the arrival of the mother, ALP, in order to begin to gain some understanding of what the future of these Irish Catholic women might hold in store.

‘Their chariton queen’ (208.33)

ALP

In many respects ALP sits in more complex relation to Catholic Ireland than do her children. Her ‘biography’, such as we hear it, seems to suggest that her girlhood has been a traditional Irish Catholic one, lived out ‘in county Wickenlow, garden of Erin’ (202.36-203.1). However, ALP’s Catholicism is not a clear continuous thread in her life story. Many ideas about her courtship and marriage might circulate, but one tale remains relatively consistent: she has married HCE, a man who is figured in terms of his religious otherness, and is subsequently frequently associated with Anglo-Protestant imagery. Furthermore, to add to the complexity and richness of ALP’s religious or spiritual elements, Joyce relates her identity to a whole host of female archetypes and individuals throughout the *Wake*, several of whom derive from religious tradition or myth.

The sheer scope of ALP’s character has often led to her being considered an ‘All Goddess’ of sorts, an identification that is encouraged by the manner in which she is hailed ‘in the name of Annah the Allmaziful, the Everliving, the Bringer of Plurabilities’ (104.01) at the opening of Chapter I.5, to give just one example. This invocation fuses beautifully the traditional openings of conventional Islamic and Christian prayers, merging an appeal to ‘Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate’ with a Sign of the Cross, before the language falls into the cadence of a Pater Noster. Given that this opening prayer foreshadows a physical description of ALP’s letter, a document that appears to constitute a merciful intervention on behalf of her husband, thoughts of Marian intercession are also in the air. These divine associations are, moreover, not entirely anomalous. Despite her many more ‘down to

earth' qualities, glimpses of ALP in the role of a kind of maternal goddess, or even an anti-goddess, do surface on several occasions.

A canonical example of a grandiose mode of understanding this character is the commentary found in Tindall, who describes ALP in terms developed by Jung as a 'triple goddess' and 'the Great Mother of the ancients'.[1] A further, but in some respects related, aspect of the critical appreciation of ALP, and one that holds her in equally high esteem, is the manner in which this character has featured in debates surrounding the literary portrayal of women's subjectivity in the last decades of the twentieth century, something that has already been touched upon in relation to Issy. In Suzette Henke's post-structuralist and feminist account of 1990, the critic draws heavily upon the notion of *écriture féminine*, as developed by philosophers such as Hélène Cixous and Julia Kristeva, in order to portray ALP as a figure who is capable of 'outmanoeuvring the symbolic order in linguistic utterances that flood the text with a semiotic flow that proves unconstrained and untranscribable'.[2] Adopting similar principles, though perhaps displaying slightly more ambivalence when it comes to the notion of ALP's total transcendence of all established symbolic orders, Sheldon Brivic has argued that 'Joyce portrays ALP so as to insist that the logic of polarity is virtually inescapable, but he also sees that her value, power, and beauty ultimately depend on her passing beyond this logic'.[3]

These readings are in some respects problematic owing to what is in my opinion an overly idealised understanding of ALP's relation to patriarchal society. However, the readings by Henke and

---

[1] Tindall, p. 250.

[2] Suzette Henke, *James Joyce and the Politics of Desire* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990), p. 209. See also her essay 'Anna the "Allmaziful": Toward the Evolution of a Feminine Discourse' in *James Joyce and His Contemporaries*, ed. by Diana A. Ben-Merre and Maureen Murphy (New York and Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1989), pp. 37-47.

[3] Sheldon Brivic, *Joyce's Waking Women: An Introduction to 'Finnegans* Wake' (Madison: Wisconsin, 1995), p. 105. The notion of the double-handed principle that characterises ALP's Book IV 'revelation' can in fact be traced back to Ellmann's critical biography in which he comments that 'ALP has seen through her husband, yet she is full of submission, if not precisely to him, at least to the male principle' (*JJ*, 712-3).

others in this vein must be acknowledged as important contributions in their own right, particularly as regards Joyce's innovative portrait of female subjectivity. Henke in particular is aware of the radical nature of ALP's 'flowing' discourse at the climax of the *Wake*, a literary experiment that goes further than Joyce was able to with Molly Bloom. Regardless of my own cynicism regarding the extremes to which some critics go in order to express their enthusiasm for Anna Livia, it must be recognised that, in Book IV, Joyce creates a portrait of a new kind of female voice that, however tentative, ultimately cannot fail to enchant the reader with its beauty and poignancy.

These readings are then valuable ones. Yet it is also obviously the case that, despite established critical trends, readings that consider ALP as a universal archetype and mythic mother cannot account for the whole story. A particular issue arises because many readings tend to overlook the layers of intricate individual identifications that Joyce incorporated into his fictional constructions. In the case of ALP, these identities range from the gigantic notion that she is the River Liffey itself, to the rather more earthy idea that she is the long-suffering wife of a publican in Chapelizod, a man who is often drunk and violent. As I suggested in the Introduction citing Fordham's theory of character, these identifications should not be understood as entirely separate from one another, because the levels are dynamic and constantly impinge upon one another.[4] However, given my concern throughout this thesis with the book's human dramas, be they realist or magic realist, in connection to particular cultures of Irish Catholicism, this is the aspect that I focus my attentions on throughout this analysis.

With these observations in mind, this chapter seeks to examine the manner in which the 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' chapter engages with Irish Catholic culture, considering numerous aspects of the narrative, as follows. The first section of my thematic study will consider the voices of the

[4] See Fordham, pp. 33-6.

washerwomen themselves, figures who appear to speak for the working Catholic masses. I will then turn to their account of ALP's youth, an aspect of her narrative that, as we saw in the case of Issy, presents the role of the clergy in a deeply disturbing manner. The third section of this account will focus on ALP's connection to the Anglicised HCE, and the manner in which the washerwomen-narrators exploit this sense of difference. The final section, however, accounts for the moment when ALP appears to reclaim the narrative, enacting her revenge upon the society that has condemned her husband.

As the reader may have sensed from the above discussion, ALP often feels like a character that has been overwhelmed by the critical enthusiasm for her. But there is yet another aspect of the critical reception of this character that must be accounted for at this juncture, and this is the attention that ALP has received from genetic critics, concerned with the composition and publication history of the work. Unusually in terms of broader critical trends, the genetic evolution of this chapter was the subject of a book-length study as early as 1960, and has received further attention since—something that demonstrates a remarkable amount of scholarly interest that can perhaps be attributed to the attention that Joyce himself called to this portion of the work by choosing to make a recording of it, the striking typography of the passage, and/or its unique and famous exploitation of river imagery. But despite the genetic attention that this chapter has received, I do believe that there are further observations to be made, particularly in relation to the chapter's religious theme. With this in mind, I have chosen to include a genetic commentary on the chapter which seeks to emphasise the centrality of the religious theme, before moving on to a historically grounded commentary.

Two recent studies on the genesis of Chapter I.8 provide insights that could be useful in the context of this project. In *Lots of Fun at Finnegans Wake*, Fordham includes a detailed account of the genesis of the passage describing Anna Livia's 'very first time', in which he describes the development of the incident between ALP and her priestly lover in terms of a shifting sense of responsibility. Patrick McCarthy, in his contribution to the collection *How Joyce Wrote 'Finnegans Wake'*, also makes some, albeit brief, observations with regards to the Catholic theme. Writing in respect of the washerwomen's discussion of Mrs McGrath's linen (a conversation that occurs at the bottom of p. 204), he notes that,

> the additions to the passage abound in religious overtones, and the fact that baptism involves pouring water over the head while coifs and guimpes are forms of head covering suggests the process of association through which Joyce often developed his chapters.[5]

The connection that McCarthy fleetingly establishes between ideas associated with religion, baptism, water, and covering one's head is potentially extremely pertinent. However, the critic's actual development of his idea is a little disappointing. He focuses on the symbolic importance of water in religion in quite generic terms, rather than looking closely at the particular kinds of religious culture that Joyce gradually incorporated into the chapter. The scope of his analysis also poses difficulties in terms of making broader claims, because McCarthy has only illustrated the development of religious imagery in a small snippet of the chapter.

[5] Patrick A. McCarthy, 'Making Herself Tidal: Chapter I.8', in *How Joyce Wrote 'Finnegans Wake: A Chapter-by-Chapter Genetic Guide* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 2007), pp. 163-180 (p. 169).

With this in mind, I have compiled a table, included as Appendix C, that sets out to illustrate exactly where and when during the composition of the chapter as a whole, Joyce worked on heightening the passage's 'Catholicity' (and in most cases given Joyce's preoccupations its 'Irish Catholicity'), adding words and phrases that point specifically towards this context. Attempting to chart the development of writing of this kind in a 'cut and dry' manner naturally causes a number of difficulties, as all classification of this nature is inherently somewhat subjective, and others may disagree with my judgements. I have, however, attempted to limit myself to recording only the first use of any allusion that has a *specifically* Catholic frame of reference, omitting a number of references that seem to be more generically Christian than Catholic (for example, a number of Biblical puns). The exception to this rule is a number of phrases that are attributed to the washerwomen that do not immediately appear to be exclusively Catholic (for example, the phrase 'As God is my judge' (47471b, 74-5; *JJA* 48: 3&5) that occurs in the first draft version). I have elected to include all such interjections that clearly issue from the washerwomen because, taken together, these phrases contribute significantly to the identification of the two narrators with work-a-day Catholic Ireland, the central cultural framework for the chapter.

Given my particular focus, any references that appear to be specifically Anglican and/or Protestant have not been incorporated in the table. However, when it comes to this theme, one particular set of documents in the dossier jumps out as being particularly worthy of further attention. This is a set of marked-up pages from the *Navire d'Argent* version of 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' (Yale MS 6.1), an edition of the chapter that Joyce published separately in a bespoke volume. What is striking about Joyce's activity here is the manner in which he suddenly chooses to incorporate a significant amount of very historically specific material in a single campaign of writing, additions that

considerably enhance the chapter's historicity in relation to both Irish Catholic, and particularly Anglo-Protestant, themes.

The significance of many of these allusions in terms of the socio-religious dimensions of the chapter will be discussed in due course, but suffice to say at this point that they include references to two prominent nineteenth century Irish Cardinals (the familiar figures of Cullen and McCabe); to the late eighteenth century Anglo-Irish patriots Henry Grattan and Henry Flood (incidentally their names combine to form the name of the papally decorated composer W.H. Grattan Flood), and to Victorian notions of morality and etiquette in phrases like 'for once they sullied their white kid gloves' (all Yale 6.1-67; *JJA* 48:180). Further examples include additions that relate to the Church of Ireland philanthropist and proselytiser Ellen Smyly, founder of the 'ragged school' system in Ireland; to a whole host of dissenting Victorian authors, and finally to James Connolly's temperance catch-phrase, 'Ireland Sober is Ireland Free' (all Yale 6.1-73; *JJA* 48:186). This sudden influx of contextually related material could represent a shift in direction in terms of the overall theme of the chapter—Joyce's desire to explore a number of Victorian ideas in the washerwomen's discussion of ALP. It could also be the case that he simply wished to firm up the historical precision of the chapter in keeping with his established approach elsewhere.

But to move onto the Catholic theme *per se*, Appendix C shows that the incorporation of Catholic material was a consistent feature of the composition of the chapter from the early drafts to the final proofs. While other important motives for the chapter, for example the more famous incorporation of dozens of river names, was not begun until June 1925, Catholicism, and particularly Irish Catholicism, is an important theme from the outset, and one that does not drop away as the river names are incorporated. Furthermore, while Joyce's rivery puns often seem to function as a kind of

linguistic gloss, images that are laid on top of the already established narrative, many of the chapter's socio-religious themes appear to be far more fundamental to the logic of the passage.

It must be remembered that in keeping with Joyce's established method of revision and expansion, often fed by the contents of his many working notebooks, it is not at all unusual for large chunks of new writing to be drafted into a given passage during the composition history, much of which does not, of course, relate to religion and Catholicism. However, in my view the sheer volume of historically and culturally specific Catholic cultural references that were incorporated as Joyce prepared the passage for serial, and eventually book, publication, represents an important pattern. On the whole, it is clear that while Joyce continued to increase the geological and global dimensions of 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' by incorporating the names of rivers the world over, on a more human level he was also keen to maintain the sense of a religious culture that was for him much closer to home, continuing to describe and comment upon a world that was local and particular as he simultaneously reached out towards the universal.

'Baptiste me, father, for she has sinned!' (204.36)

The above quotation comes not from a description of ALP herself, but from the washerwomen's discussion of the implications of a particular piece of dirty laundry as they labour over their load, chattering to each other across the river in which they are at work. Owing to the physical state of the garment in question, the gossiping women are apparently able to discern that sin lies therein, a state of affairs that reveals itself in the cloth's 'oder', its 'moist' nature, and its 'creases' (204.34-35). Their discovery leads to an expression of surprise that is unmistakably inflected with a Catholic register. The

washerwoman's cry of 'baptiste me' does, however, do more than simply introduce the image of baptismal waters into this snippet of punning dialogue, as it is also obvious that the language of a different sacrament underpins the structure of this particular exclamation: that of confession.

This loaded phrase might, then, tell us something further about the concerns of the washerwomen themselves. Joyce recalled the conventional opening statement of a penitent when entering the confessional in a more traditional setting in part three of *A Portrait*, where we hear how Stephen entreated the priest to 'bless him for he had sinned' before reciting the *Confiteor* (*P*, 163-4). However, within the gossipy flow of Chapter I.8 the dynamics of 'confession' have shifted dramatically. Both confessor and penitent are themselves absent as it is the washerwomen who take responsibility for bringing the secrets of others to light by wringing out their dirty linen. In this kind of 'confession by proxy'—in which the sins of others are endlessly repeated, debated and distorted—it is the washerwomen-narrators who take centre stage as they pass judgement upon both ALP and her husband, while the traditional, male ambassadors of Catholic values are notably absent as speakers.

As I noted in Chapter 1, in Chapter II.3 of the *Wake*, the barroom scene, Joyce recasts a discussion of HCE's 'crime' in the terms of an ancient and intense theological debate relating to the nature of Adam's Original Sin, a conflation that very much has the effect of bringing the theological terms 'back down to earth'. A similar point can be made about the washerwomen in Chapter I.8, as they appear to transform the Catholic Church's intricate economy of sin, grace, and forgiveness, into a much cruder economy of gossip. As one speaker puts it, 'I'd pledge my chanza getting to heaven through Tirry and Killy's mount of impiety to hear it all, aviary word!' (206.18-20)—i.e. she would sacrifice her changes of redemption to have access to every last scurrilous detail about ALP's past life.

As Appendix C illustrates, Joyce sought to pepper the washerwomen's dialogue with increasingly irreverent interjections as he pushed forward with the Anna Livia chapter. As the episode became more densely allusive according to his usual method of revision and expansion, more commonplace blasphemies, such as the casual 'Ah Gods' that punctuate the first draft versions, are superseded by interjections that are far more culturally poignant, such as the punning insult, 'O, may the diabolo twisk your seifety pin! You child of Mammon, Kinsella's Lilith!' (205.10-1), a construction that envisages the recipient of this verbal blow as somebody who has transformed from a 'Child of Mary' (i.e. a junior member of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary) into the proverbial lover of money that is condemned in the New Testament.[6] The sheer volume of allusions of this kind that were finally incorporated into the chapter suggest that the washerwomen's Catholic idiolect is a crucial aspect of the narrative framework, an impression that is strengthened by the fact that the washerwomen's cultural leanings help to create an important contrast between the nonconformist ALP, and the society that passes judgement on her. With this in mind it is important to question the kind of culture of Irish Catholicism that the washerwomen really represent.

In her *Third Census* Glasheen throws up numerous possible identifications for the washerwomen, suggesting that they might have connections with the Weird Sisters of *Macbeth*, the rivers Amazon and Nile, Dante Riordan (of *A Portrait* and *Ulysses*), Maria from the short story 'Clay', and the two old women of 'Proteus' and 'Aeolus'. However, Glasheen's 'best guess' at a more specific identification of the pair is that 'they are the two temptresses grown old, become reformed prostitutes (like those at Dublin by Lamplight in 'Clay') or Magdalenes set to wash dirty linen as a punishment for

[6] Most famously Christ's assertion that 'no man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon' (Matthew 6:24), at the Sermon on the Mount, an obvious source for Stephen Dedalus's earlier claim that he himself is a servant of two masters.

past sins', an idea that is, to an extent, supported by the accusations of past transgressions that begin to surface towards the chapter's end as the two narrators begin to squabble, with one reminding the other of the time on 'Fallareen Common' when 'the bobby restrained you making sugarstuck pouts to the ghostwhite horse of the Peppers' (214.13-6).[7] Furthermore, the description of the washerwomen that appears in Book IV (the only place where they are named) as 'Queer Mrs Quickenough and odd Miss Doddpebble […] From the Laundersdale Minssions' (620.19-21) strengthens the possible connection with 'Clay'. The notion that the narrators of Chapter I.8 are, at one level at least, reformed prostitutes might account for their overt concern with ALP's sexual morals, something that becomes so overblown that it seems to suggest a certain lascivious interest on their own part.

Of course, the very nature of the *Wake* precludes the washerwomen from being understood within the same firm historical parameters that frame the earlier, realist fiction. Nonetheless, certain comparisons are possible and looking beyond the example of 'Clay', one can also see how the narrators of Chapter I.8 seem to have something in common with, for instance, Mrs Kernan, the practical Catholic wife in 'Grace' whose faith is 'bounded by her kitchen' (*D*, 178). While the washerwomen's faith is not exactly 'bound' by the kitchen in the economical manner that is suggested in the short story—indeed, they seem to waste a great deal of energy on gossip and squabbles—images of domestic duty are at the heart of a number of their most Catholic-flavoured outbursts, with the language of religion clearly providing a lens through which the more mundane aspects of life might be re-imagined. For example, the cry 'Lord help you, Maria, full of grease, the load is with me!' (214.18-9) conflates their greasy load of washing with the opening lines of a 'Hail Mary' (as well as overtly alluding to 'Clay'). Likewise, the complaint 'Amn't I up since the damp tawn, marthared mary

[7] Glasheen, p. 301.

allacook' (214.23-4) merges the burden of the speaker's early morning kitchen duties with both the tale of Jesus's first encounter with the sisters Martha and Mary as recorded by Luke, and an allusion to Saint Margaret Mary Alacoque.[8] The former story has domestic work at its centre, as Jesus tells Martha, who has taken on all of the household chores, that her contemplative sister Mary has 'chosen what is better' (Luke 10:38-42). The washerwomen themselves do, however, seem closer to Martha—unconcerned with reflections on the 'higher things', Catholicism seems simply to constitute part of the fabric of their work-a-day lives.

In this way the washerwomen might be said to embody what McGreevy described, exhibiting his own prejudices, as 'the more profound "regular" Catholicism of Ireland' that consequently 'has to face everything', and which he elevates above the sort of faith that is expressed by England's 'temporary Romanizers'.[9] McGreevy might be keen to promote this 'regular' Catholicism, which takes a 'warts and all' approach to religion, ahead of what he sees as the more superficial and aesthetically-driven faith of the English converts. But the *Wake,* as ever, is far more ambiguous. While Joyce is not exactly satirical (it would be possible to make the case that his portrait of these two aging, overburdened skivvies is in fact a sympathetic take on conditions in working-class Dublin) his mimicry of the voices of old Catholic Ireland nevertheless flags up the hypocrisies and inconsistencies inherent in the washerwomen's claim to moral and religious superiority as they pass judgement on others. The washerwomen's insatiable appetite for risqué gossip, and their somewhat casual approach to expressions of 'faith', coupled with the constant employment of Catholic values as a means to denigrate

[8] This allusion refers back to both 'Eveline' and the 'coloured print of the promises made to Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque' (*D*, 38), and to 'Grace' where Mrs Kernan deems that devotion to the Sacred Heart (the devotion that was allegedly revealed to Alacoque) is 'the most generally useful of all Catholic devotions' (*D*, 178). A similar punning reference can also be seen in Buck Mulligan's 'pious' mock prayer to 'Blessed Margaret Mary Anycock' (*U*, 9.646).
[9] McGreevy, p. 121.

the non-conformist ALP, in many respects serves to illustrate the double standards of a 'paralysed' society that is already more than familiar to readers of the earlier fiction.

'By the grace of her boxing bishop's infallible slipper' (201.32-3)

The tacit assumptions of the washerwomen when it comes to questions of religion and morality might tell us something about Joyce's own attitude towards work-a-day Catholic Ireland, but the narrative framework that they provide also contributes significantly to our understanding of ALP, who is, in Chapter I.8, always mediated by their voices. In contrast to HCE, whose point of origin is questioned by the narrators near the start of the chapter ('Or where was he born or how was he found? Urgothland, Tvistown on the Kattekat? New Hunshire, Concord on the Merrimake?' [197.8-10]), ALP appears to be a native of Ireland.[10] In the course of the stream of gossip this idea is, however, pushed aside as the washerwomen lay increasing amounts of blame at ALP's door for her improper sexual behaviour. The most prominent of these accusations is the account of ALP's first sexual experience, which involves a member of the Catholic clergy: a typically Wakean attack on the sexual morality of Catholic 'celibates' that relates back to material discussed in previous chapters.

As Fordham has illustrated in his analysis of the genesis of this sequence, this passage was revised in order to implicate ALP just as much (if not more so) as her priestly lover, so that in the published text we learn of 'her enamelled eyes indergoading him on to the vierge violetian' (203.28-9)—with the use of the French term for 'virgin' in this context highlighting ALP's un-Marian,

[10] One account offered maps ALP's life story onto the course of the River Liffey, and therefore claims that her point of origin is Wicklow: 'It was ages behind that when nullahs were nowhere, in county Wickenlow, garden of Erin, before she ever dreamt she'd lave Kilbride and go foaming under Horsepass bridge' (202.35-203.2). This is the phrase that I quoted from at the start of this chapter.

subversive tendencies. In emphasising the notion of ALP as sexually provocative and, in the eyes of the washerwomen, deviant, Joyce brings together the narratives of mother and daughter. In Book III, Issy addresses her lewd flirtations to one Fr. Michael, who is more than happy to receive her attentions. But as the washerwomen recount their version of ALP's sexual history, it seems that the mother has enacted the sort of sexual transgressions that her daughter seems only to have fantasised about with a monk or cleric dubbed 'Michael Arklow' (203.18). This narrative, then, appears to represent one possible future for Issy.

However, as well as similarities between the stories of the two women there are also important differences, and, in the version of events relayed in Chapter I.8, Joyce is not content to associate ALP solely with an ordinary monk or cleric. Instead, in his irreverent anticlerical game, he has her work her way up the Church hierarchy. In a description of ALP's prodigious child-bearing capabilities, itself a trait that somewhat strangely brings her *closer* to the Catholic maternal ideal, a more senior clergy member comes into the picture when we hear that 'she can't remember half of the cradlenames she smacked on them by the grace of her boxing bishop's infallible slipper' (201.31-3). The fact that ALP's children come to be named by virtue of the bishop's 'infallible slipper'[11] perhaps implies that this senior figure, or at least his 'slipper', is responsible for fathering the 111 children, though it could also be the case that he is simply responsible for baptising them in the name of the Catholic church.[12] On a more naturalistic level, this would in some small way help to account for the fact that ALP and her husband

[11] This description appears to imbue this figure with something akin to Papal Infallibility, an idea that is firmed up by the notebook entry that gave rise to this phrase—'infallible slipper / (Adrian IV Δ)' (VI.B.16.025)—an allusion to Pope Adrian IV (the only English Pope).

[12] The phrase 'infallible slipper' is not without precedent: it appears, for example, in an book of 1875 entitled *Men Who Have Made the New German Empire* in the context of a description of Bishop Strossmayer's refusal to accept the dogma of Papal Infallibility: 'The Ultramontane press triumphantly announced beforehand that the bishop would declare his readiness to recant his heretical errors, and to kiss the papal foot-covering henceforth as an infallible slipper. It turned out no go, to use an expression of vulgarism' (G.L.M. Strauss, *Men Who Have Made the New German Empire: Volume 1* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1875), p. 267). The context here is suggestive, but further evidence would be required to claim this definitively as Joyce's source.

are frequently identified with Protestantism, while their children appear to have been brought up as Catholics (although it is possible that this is a consequence of the 'conversion' of HCE that takes place in Chapter II.3). Whether all or none of these explanations are intended, the naming in question has certainly been a violent one, because the phrase conjures up images of a father beating or 'boxing' his children with a slipper. In this sense the boxing bishop can perhaps be imagined as a Catholicised version of HCE, someone who is frequently connected to physical aggression.

This is not, however, as far as Joyce wants to take this idea, and in an image that eventually appears at a slightly earlier moment in the chapter (although it was added later), the head of the Holy See is brought into the equation as we hear how ALP called young girls 'to go in till him, her erring cheef, and tickle the pontiff aisy-oisy?' (198.12). This image again has the distinct ring of HCE about it, as the 'erring chief' Parnell is a common avatar for this character. However, in this particular instance, it is the Pope himself who is treated to a tickling by the young girls in question.

The washerwomen's ostensibly shocked reaction to ALP's sexual transgressions in many respects mimics the values of the patriarchal, and at least ostensibly religious, culture to which they belong, but as the narrative progresses it seems that Anna herself has little concern for the judgement that society casts upon her. ALP's embrace of all that is taboo could be interpreted as a Joycean revolt against the constraints of a sexually repressive Church, a celebration of that which is deemed to be unacceptable. But the broader gender dynamics of this chapter do problematise such a reading, as ALP appears to have been motivated not entirely by her own desires, but by the need to defend and satisfy her husband. In this way, ALP's sexual revolt perhaps represents only a sort of liberation-by-proxy; she might enjoy indulging in all kinds of taboo behaviour, but much of her activity seems to be driven by the urge to stand by her man.

The tales told of ALP's encounters with Catholic clergymen bluntly illustrate how her behaviour has failed to conform to accepted social norms. However, the difference between ALP, the washerwomen, and the society that they appear to represent is suggested in more or less subtle ways throughout Chapter I.8. The religious otherness of ALP and her husband is an idea that recurs throughout the *Wake*, and something that has been recognized, to an extent, by the critics. As Benstock bluntly puts it, Joyce's 'heroine and hero are both Protestants',[13] and while this definitive classification of the pair is perhaps a little heavy-handed, it is nevertheless the case that throughout the *Wake* the couple are more explicitly and consistently imbued with Protestant traits than Catholic ones. Moreover, in the (relatively) wide-awake world of Chapter III.4, we learn that in the guise of the Porters ALP and HCE represent various shades of 'low' Protestantism as they are demarcated as 'free kirk' and 'episcopalian' respectively (559.29; 26). The label 'free kirk' seems to locate Mrs Porter-ALP within a Presbyterian tradition, as the most obvious referent for the term 'Free Church' from an Irish and British perspective is the Presbyterian 'Free Church' tradition, a religious culture that has historically been most prominent in Scotland and Northern Ireland. However, in stark contrast to the impression of the Earwickers as 'low Protestants' that a reader might easily take from Chapter III.4, in the washerwomen's version of events it is ALP's 'high' or Ascendancy credentials that shine through. Indeed, in this version of events one could imagine that Issy's social aspirations for the future have come to fruition.

[13] Benstock, *Joyce-again's Wake*, p. 85.

For example, in one of many versions recounted of ALP's 'very first time', the Anglo-Irish Yeats briefly comes to the fore as the loss of ALP's virginity is suddenly recast as a version of his iconic poem 'Leda and the Swan' (a similar intertext to the one that we previously saw with Issy in her longest footnote). This occurs when we hear of a timid young Anna who is 'leada, laida, all unraidy, too faint to buoy the fairiest rider, too frail to flirt with a cygnet's plume' (204.10-1). A more explicit illustration of ALP's Anglo-Irish persuasion is one washerwoman's mischievous depiction of the gift-giving matriarch as the Church of Ireland philanthropist and proselytiser Ellen Smyly, whose role in establishing the 'ragged school' system in nineteenth century Ireland has already been mentioned. Religious politics played an enormous role in the negative reception of such institutions by the Catholic populace, and as Luddy has recently pointed out in her history of philanthropy in Ireland, institutions such as Smyly's 'Bird's Nest' orphanage were self-professed proselytising agencies that targeted Catholic inmates.[14] In this pointed restaging of events, the notion of the Smyly homes as a force for introducing a foreign system of values is, however, taken to an extreme. The children who come from the 'slime of the their slums' to receive gifts are compared to 'the Smyly boys at their vicereine's levee', i.e. to boys receiving the Viceroy, or another senior representative of the British government, at a levee held in his honour (209.23-4).

Historical allusions of this kind make (relative) sense within the context of Victorian or Edwardian Ireland, but a recurring pattern throughout Chapter I.8 is the washerwomen's tendency to employ descriptions of ALP's costume and/or dress in order to more subtly play with the idea of her religious and social difference, a device that is illustrated by the following striking phrase (added to Yale manuscript 6.1, discussed above as an example of a document on which Joyce significantly

[14] See Maria Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 77-8.

increased the historical specificity of the chapter) in which we learn that ALP dons 'a period gown of changeable jade that would robe the wood of two cardinals' chairs and crush poor Cullen and smother MacCabe' (200.1-4). ALP's 'period gown' suggests the sort of wealth and luxury that would place her towards the top of the social spectrum, but its colouring—a changeable variant of Ireland's national colour — perhaps hints at disloyalty, or at least ambivalence, with regard to the national cause. Joyce's inclusion of the two leaders of the Irish Catholic Church during the second half of the nineteenth century loads this phrase with further socio-political associations, although the intent behind this construction is by no means clear-cut.

As we have seen, Cullen was sometimes accused in the popular press of being a 'Castle Catholic', i.e. one who had betrayed the Irish national cause in favour of the advancement of the Catholic hierarchy, and the same sorts of accusations were also levelled at McCabe. With this in mind, Joyce's association of the two cardinals with the lavishly dressed ALP could be seen as a means of illustrating their tendency to 'consort with the enemy' for their own social and political ends. Whether Joyce actually intends for the cardinals to be explicitly associated with ALP is, however, unclear, as the metaphor that he employs is such a bizarre one. Why might ALP's gown be used to 'robe the wood' of a cardinal's chair, and is the suggestion actually a sexual one? Approached simply, the washerwoman's description of the potential uses to which the fabric of ALP's gown might be put is perhaps nothing more than a hyperbolic means of expressing the sheer quantity of fabric involved. Nevertheless, the (in my view) gleeful suggestion that this excess of cloth might be used to suffocate two senior members of the Catholic hierarchy betrays a certain anticlerical (or at least anti-hierarchical) leaning on the part of the working class Irish Catholic woman who is speaking.

The 'period gown' is obviously an image of ostentation and excess, but as the chapter progresses ALP's dress becomes significant not only because of what it projects, but because of what it disguises. A case in point is the descriptions of clothing that abound in the chapter's most bizarre set-piece, a vignette that revolves around one washerwoman's account of the day when ALP stole her son's 'shammy mailsack' (206.10), let her hair down, coated her body with 'pistania mud' (206.31) and other undesirable substances, fashioned ornaments for herself out of the natural landscape, and set forth on a gift-giving mission (see 206.29-207.20). As the narrator puts it, ALP stands 'between two ages' (207.36), and in some respects at least the truth of this statement is illustrated by her polymorphous costume. With her pointed 'sugarloaf' hat that is adorned with a band of gorse and one hundred streamers, and a 'fishnetzveil' (208.10), ALP seems to be aping medieval dress. However, her costume is also imbued with traits that relate explicitly to the world of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ireland.

As is the case in the allusion to Cullen and McCabe discussed above, ALP's dress is over-laden with convoluted messages that relate to her identity, although in this instance the imagery is more sectarian than explicitly Church historical. This idea first comes through when the narrator takes us back to the earlier image of ALP's enormous and potentially murderous 'period gown' at the end of the portrait in question, the tail of which now drags 'ffiffty odd Irish miles behind [her] lungarhodes' (208.26). ALP may be dressed in an enormous, organically decorated gown, but as we catch a glimpse of her 'bloodorange bockknickers' (208.15) it suddenly seems likely that her naturally wrought feminine costume, that is bound up with images of rural Ireland, is only a sham. These masculine knickerbockers, coloured a deep and bloody Unionist orange, reflect a very different set of allegiances. Moreover, from this point on, the washerwomen's description of ALP is inflected with military

imagery as we hear how 'her blackstripe tan joseph [a type of cloak] was sequansewn and teddybearlined, with wavy rushgreen epaulettes and a leadown here and there of royal swansruff' (208.17-20). This phrase conjures up images of the infamous 'Black and Tans', the band of temporary constables recruited by Lloyd George's government in order to bolster the R.I.C. in the face of escalating anti-British violence in the two years immediately preceding the inception of the Free State. But with her epaulettes and 'royal swansruff' ALP seems also to be a Royalist soldier of sorts, a further example of the temporal confusion of this sequence. The canny ALP does, however, appear to cover all of these trappings with a 'civvy [civilian] codroy coat' (208.20) suggesting that, at least in the washerwoman's version of events, she is attempting to hide her true colours as she goes about her strange business.

'Maundy meerschaundize' (210.2)

In his early essay on the subject of Catholic elements in the *Wake*, Montgomery claims that 'ALP is also the Blessed Virgin', a view that complements a broader critical conception of ALP as a 'universal goddess' that I have described briefly in the opening section of this chapter. Montgomery's claim is, however, heavily criticised by Benstock who argues that Anna Livia 'is bereft of the basic Catholic nature of the Virgin', and who goes on to suggest in a footnote that 'it is Issy in fact who plays the part of the Blessed Virgin in the *Wake*, and what an irreligious part it is!'.[15] While Benstock here oversimplifies the complex relationship that is established between Issy and ideas associated with the Virgin Mary throughout the *Wake*, ideas that I have discussed in some detail in the previous chapter,

[15] Montgomery, p. 444; Benstock, *Joyce-again's Wake*, p. 86.

the evidence of Chapter I.8 would certainly seem to support his view of ALP as one who fails to meet a holy standard. But despite this lack of positive affinity between the two mythic matriarchs, a Marian frame of reference does, in my view, remain pertinent to an understanding of ALP's character. Marian imagery recurs throughout the chapter in question, and the manner in which ALP explicitly subverts ideas associated with the Catholic maternal ideal constitutes an important and understudied aspect of this section of the *Wake*.

ALP's 'un-Marian' or even 'anti-Marian' qualities are hinted at in the story of her bizarre wanderings that is discussed in some detail above, as we hear from the washerwoman-narrator that the people who encountered the strangely clad ALP may have mockingly crowned her 'Queen of the May' (see 208.33-4), a conventional and Marian epitaph that seems to be wildly inappropriate when applied to this bizarre figure.[16] Moreover, ALP's 'plan to fake a shine' (immediately preceded by the washerwoman's interjection 'Par the Vulnerable Virgin's Mary del Dame!' (206.6), a reference to the former prominent Dublin Church St. Mary del Dam which gave Dame St. its name and became the site of the Royal Exchange) appears to have involved, among other disguises, covering herself in 'Peeld gold' and 'grains of incense anguille bronze' (206.36; 207.1), actions that suggest that ALP had the intention of setting herself up as some sort of false religious icon.

However, while the washerwomen have been at pains throughout their dialogue to stress the distance between ALP and Catholic ideals of womanly virtue, when the speaker moves on to an account of the matriarch's extraordinary gift-giving extravaganza matters take on a somewhat different complexion. We now behold a vision of ALP as a woman who is capable of actively striking out

[16] It should also be noted that the phrase 'queen of queens' (a Marian-sounding epitaph that echoes her son's positions as 'king of kings') was added to a set of marked pages for the editor of *transition* 8 (see Yale MS 6.1-63 and Appendix C) but appears to have accidentally dropped out. While this epitaph is an unusual one it has been employed by poets such as Donne in the opening line of his poem 'On the Blessed Virgin Mary'.

against the society that has condemned both her and her husband, rather than remaining the passive victim of gossip. Indeed, as the more loquacious of the washerwomen who dominates at this point tells us, 'she [ALP] swore on croststyx nyne wyndabouts she'd be level with all the snags of them' (206.4-5), a phrase that contains many punning allusions, but that on one level suggests that ALP has sworn upon the thirty-nine articles of the Anglican faith that she will 'level' matters with those who have run her spouse down. It must, of course, be remembered that the story told here continues to be mediated by the gossiping washerwomen, but, in contrast to the rather brief glimpses that we receive of Shem in the preceding chapter, ALP appears to take over the narrative here, so that the sense of her agency is unmistakable. Significantly, it is also at this moment that this character subverts the traditional Marian role of 'comfortress' to her people most explicitly and maliciously.

Catholics might ordinarily pray to Mary to grant them strength and blessings, but in this instance it is clear that the gifts that ALP provides for her children lack any sense of benevolence. Some gifts are certainly more neutral than others, and a small number of them *could* be interpreted in a positive light, but as Joyce himself put it, '[ALP's] Pandora's box contains the ills flesh is heir to' (*L* I, 213), and it is undeniable that the overwhelming tone of the list is distinctly negative. While the question of geographical location is always a slippery one within the *Wake*, it also seems clear from the nature of many of the gifts proffered that the intended recipients are drawn from the ranks of Irish, and more often than not Irish Catholic society. This observation tallies with the notion that ALP performs this act as revenge for the judgement that this gossiping society has passed upon her husband.

The fact that at this moment Joyce chooses to provide a lengthy and fairly materialistic account of ALP's anti-Catholic gifts is potentially extremely pertinent in context. As I noted in the Introduction to this thesis, Atkin and Tallett have written about the increasing 'commodification' of

Catholicism in the nineteenth century, a phenomenon that was made possible by the increased circulation of newspapers, advertising materials, and the nature of mass production itself.[17] The popular press may, furthermore, actually have been one immediate source of inspiration for the passage in question, and evidence of the social phenomenon certainly exists in abundance in examples from the Dublin press of Joyce's day, papers that we know he continued to read throughout his years on the Continent.

Naturally, press notices relating to items with a particular devotional purpose—such as scapulars and rosaries—are more common in specialist publications like the *Irish Catholic*. However, the popular appetite for devotional props is also clearly evident in the mainstream press. To give just a few examples, a raffle run by the *Freeman's Journal* in 1892 listed the following as prizes on offer: 'a framed Picture of the Virgin and Child, from one of the old masters', 'A large and beautiful statue of Our Lady of Lourdes', and 'A valuable Picture of the Last Supper, in maple frame'.[18] An advertisement placed by M.H. Gill and Son's 'Church furnishing department' in the same publication (the very existence of such a department illustrates the booming market for devotional objects) also beautifully illustrates the collision of Catholic imagery with the language of the marketplace, as they advertise items such as a 'Sacred Heart Statue (Montmartre model), very beautiful, in two sizes [...] decorated in gold and colours, by thoroughly accomplished artists'.[19] This trend is echoed in numerous advertisements for fêtes and bazaars that were promoted in newspapers of the era, many of which are keen to emphasise the fact that their stalls have luxury devotional goods on offer. This trend does, moreover, continue into the first decades of the twentieth century.

[17] Atkin and Tallett, p. 186.
[18] 'Catholic Notices', *Freeman's Journal*, September 21 1892, p. 8.
[19] 'Advertisement', *Freeman's Journal*, July 8 1899, p. 7.

ALP's ironic 'devotional' gifts naturally differ significantly from the luxury items described in the advertising columns, and what the washerwoman introduces as 'maundy meerschaundize, poor souvenir' (210.2)—yet another indication of ALP's allegiances as she here takes on the persona of a British Royal distributing Maundy gifts during Easter week—becomes, at this moment, just that: a number of valueless or 'poor' souvenirs of the occasion. A possible point of comparison is Gerty MacDowell's 'girlish treasure trove' as described in 'Nausicaa', which we learn does not 'err on the side of luxury', but contains such items as tortoiseshell combs, a child of Mary badge, some white rose scent and eyebrowleine, an alabaster pouncet box, and some ribbons to be changed when her things came home from the wash (see *U*, 13. 638-41). A similar sense of impoverishment, albeit taken to a ridiculous extreme, is suggested by a number of the tawdry gifts proffered here.

For example, the 'papar flag of the saints and stripes' (210.13-4) that is given to Kevineen O'Dea obviously conflates the 'Stars and Stripes' with the Papal standard, perhaps an indication that emigration is on the cards. But nonetheless it is a rather cheap token. Along with their simple tawdriness, a number of the gifts offered are of particular interest as they explicitly subvert and/or attack popular Catholic customs and devotions. The apparently puerile gift of 'a drowned doll, to face downwards for modest Sister Anne Mortimer' (210.23-5) requires no explication to reveal its vicious intent, but others are more subtly wrought. For instance, the offering of a haircut and a begging tin for 'Penceless Peter' (210.22) contains an implicit critique of the ancient Saxon custom of 'St. Peter's Pence'—the practice of making an annual donation directly to the Holy See—as we see that the 'penceless' beggar is offered only a haircut and the tools by which to continue a life of dependence. This practice might seem to be far removed from the culture of Irish Catholicism that Joyce was born into, but it does in fact have a fairly immediate cultural resonance because 'St. Peter's Pence' was

formally revived by Pio Nono in his Encyclical Letter of August 5th 1871, *Saepe Venerabiles Fratres*.[20] The gruesome image of 'a prodigal heart and fatted calves for Buck Jones' (210.17) again plays with the idea of devotion to the Sacred Heart that is a feature of previous Joycean allusions to St. Margaret Mary Alacoque. But in this instance, the image of Christ's heart exposed lovingly to his people becomes a bodily, visceral one—the heart seems something akin to the fatted calf prepared for the Prodigal Son in the famous parable, and there is also a suggestion that the consumer of these 'sacred' body parts might be the gluttonous and irreverent 'Buck' Mulligan. Continuing in this vein, popular affection for St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, is also under attack here. The offering of 'snakes in clover, picked and scotched, and a vaticanned viper catcher's visa' (210.26-7) is surely an allusion to the 'vaticanned', or Vatican-approved, hero, who, according to legend, demonstrated the nature of the Trinity using the image of a clover, and also drove all of the snakes from Ireland.

Continuing with her vengeful distribution of ill will, ALP gives a 'niester egg with a twicedated shell and a dynamight right for Pavl the Curate' (210.35-6). The idea of a twice-dated shell alludes to a controversy in the early Christian church regarding the proper date of Easter, but the suggestion of the egg's literally explosive contents seems to suggest that the item is in fact a 'booby trap'. Further sorrow is contained in the gifts offered to two children who have a distinctly Shemish ring about them, both of which allude to objects associated with Christ's torture and execution. Although Seumas has been 'thought little' he is presented with 'a crown he feels big' (211.4), surely a heavy burden for so small a child. A second version of himself, one 'Sunny Twimjim', is also weighed down, this time with 'a Congoswood cross on the back' (211.5-6), an image that conflates the instrument of Christ's crucifixion with the name of an ancient Irish artefact, the Cross of Cong, and

[20] Pius IX, *Saepe Venerabiles Fratres, On Thanksgiving for Twenty-Five Years of Pontificate: Encyclical of Pope Pius IX, August 5, 1871* <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius09/p9saepev.htm>. Accessed 1 January 2012.

Joyce's first school, Clongowes Wood. A further ambiguous, and heavily Catholicised, 'gift' is the 'penteplenty of pity with lubilashings of lust' proffered to 'Olona Lena Magdalena' (211.7-8). The structure of the sentence renders it impossible to determine whether the present on offer is lashings of lust *for* this individual, presumably from male admirers, or a guarantee that she herself will become filled with desire. In either case, if the individual described is supposed to be the sort of reformed 'Magdalen' that works at an institution such as the Dublin by Lamplight laundry (something that might be suggested by her name), then this lustful gift is hardly one that will cause any satisfaction. If, however, the woman described is intended to be a prostitute then the proposed gift could conceivably be construed in a positive light as a boost to her business, although the flagellation suggested by the portmanteau word 'lubilashings' tends to undermine this impression. The plentiful pity that is also being awarded would then hardly seem to offer much consolation.

As the giving of gifts draws to a close there is a cry of, 'My colonial, wardha bagful!' (212.20), a humorously understated expression of wonder at what has just taken place. With the close of this vignette, the vivid image of ALP that the narrators have constructed also begins to fall away. As the laundry maids resume business, some of the objects found floating in the water might be associated with ALP and her husband. For example, there are a series of transparent allusions to 'heretical' literature by the likes of Oscar Wilde, George Eliot, and J.S. Mill. These last remnants are, however, superseded in the mind of the reader by the colourful collection of items that has gone before. ALP then leaves in her wake a distorted, and sometimes gruesome, impression of the material culture of devotional Catholicism. But this is not something that appears to burden her, as she floats away.

From a Joycean perspective, this fantastical vignette could be viewed as a *virtuoso* performance. ALP's epic assault on an entire society succeeds in tearing at the very fabric of Irish Catholic life, while remaining wildly entertaining. To my mind, this surreal vignette represents the most direct assault on the material culture of Irish Catholicism that Joyce ever produced, as it exposes the malevolent truth lurking behind these much fetishised objects and ideas in such a striking manner. This type of critique might be somewhat blunt and heavy-handed, and not the approach that we have come to associate with Joycean aesthetics. However, given the prominence afforded to ALP at this moment, it does seem possible that this type of all-out attack constitutes one significant strand of Joyce's apostatic method, even if this is not a mode that he frequently indulges in.

From an authorial perspective, the nature of this vignette could then be conceived of as being rather satisfying. But in terms of a broader understanding of ALP's role at the *Wake*, the implications of this bravura performance remain decidedly problematic. As previously noted, ALP's actions are not motivated by her own desires. Rather she is spurned on by her wish to wreak revenge upon her husband's accusers—something that reinforces her position as his helpmeet and unfailing defender, rather than seeking to liberate her. Furthermore, when acting under this influence, she does not attempt to defend her children—'All Livia's daughtersons' (215.35-6)—but instead opens her bag of ills to them and throws out her worst. The only glimmer of sympathy that remains is for her daughter, Issy, for whom, 'love shone befond her tears' (212.18), and to who she will look at the close of the *Wake* for the realisation of the future.

'Pu Nuseht' (593.23)

Ricorso

Book IV of the *Wake* appears to offer a new dawn in more ways than one. Joyce's choice of opening exclamation can, and indeed has, be interpreted as a gesture towards any number of traditions, something that could give rise to the arrival of all nations and faiths. The words 'Sandhyas! Sandhyas! Sandhyas!' (593.1) most clearly point to Sandhya, a Hindu goddess who represents the personification of twilight. Yet these words could also constitute a garbled version of 'Sunday'—perhaps the Sunday of Christ's resurrection—or simply the '*Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*' of the Mass. A further interpretation connects this exclamation to the end of Eliot's *The Waste Land*, words that are derived from the conclusion of an Upanishad, and something that Joyce parodied in a letter to Harriet Shaw Weaver in 1925, translating Eliot's cant into the rather more bourgeois sounding suggestion of 'Shan't we? Shan't we? Shan't we?' (*SL*, 309). In terms of the overarching structural devices that underpin the *Wake*, the new era that is dawning might be another revolution of the Viconian cycle: the inception of the age of the Gods that rightly follows the human era.

At the level of the individual, this new dawn is also replete with possibilities. It can simply represent the journey of a single dreamer, awakening from 'a sound night's sleep' (597.2), or indeed the resurrection of Tim Finnegan at his own wake in the ballad from which the book derives its title. But as we have seen throughout this thesis, narratives at the *Wake* function on numerous, dynamic planes, and turning to the book's 'family drama', the dawn of Book IV also brings about a significant shift in terms of power relations between the central cast of characters, on whom I have concentrated my

attentions. This is particularly the case in relation to Shaun, HCE and ALP, whose presences are strongly felt throughout this chapter. Moreover, as I have illustrated via a number of examples, the human dramas with which these 'characters' are associated often reveal most in terms of the *Wake*'s larger commentary on Irish Catholic society.

'The leader, the leader!' (593.13)

Turning to the particular culture of Irish Catholicism on which I have focussed throughout this study, the first part of Book IV contains a multitude of allusions that relate specifically to the history of Catholic Ireland post-Partition. As previously observed, glimpses of this 'new' Ireland emerge at various moments in the *Wake*: via the 'Bloody Sunday' vignettes, and Joyce's brutal satire of Shaun-Justius, the fate of the artist-intellectual is poignantly rendered in relation to a nascent conservative Catholic culture, and, at the close of Chapter III.2, the narrative voice appears to prophesise the triumphal return of Shaun-Jaun-Haun at the dawn of 'the devil era', i.e. of de Valera's diabolic Free State (473.8).

But at this moment this theme is more prominently expressed and significant—a striking feature of the work that has, surprisingly, received scant notice. As observed in the Introduction, Thomas C. Hofheinz is one of only a handful of critics to have developed a historical approach to reading the *Wake*, and he is also, to my knowledge, the only scholar who has written explicitly on the historical immediacy of Book IV in an Irish political context. Therefore, my reading of this portion of the *Wake* is indebted to his insight.

Hofheinz has crucially noticed that 'the final section of *Finnegans Wake* opens with dawn breaking over Ireland, an Ireland linked to modernity by a cluster of references to the first fifteen years of the Irish Free State'.[1] These include a blatant allusion to *Sinn Fein* ('Sonne feine, somme feehn avaunt!' [593.8-9]—in my view, Joyce's transformation of the killing fields of the Somme into a republican political slogan relates to nationalist opposition to the conscription of Irish troops during the First World War). Joyce also makes reference to 'Healiopolis', an ironic name given to the Vice-Regal lodge in Dublin when Tim Healy took up the role of the Free State's first Governor-General, maintaining the British imperial presence in Ireland. The nature of the Irish state under de Valera also comes through in Book IV via the phrase 'articles thirtynine of the reconstitution' (596.8-9), a description that Hofheinz views as indicative of the persistently British nature of the Free State, as it blends the thirty-nine articles of the Anglican faith with de Valera's conservative Catholic reforms when he revised the constitution in 1937.[2] However, it is also the case that Hofheinz's explication of these images is very brief, perhaps a consequence of the fact that his primary interest is in the construction of Irish historiography itself, rather than with the *Wake*'s precise engagement with social, political and cultural questions.

When it comes to the last phrase quoted above, the interpretative possibilities are, in my view, more various than Hofheinz implies. This critic is surely correct in asserting that Joyce was aware of the compromised nature of the Anglo-Irish treaty, and the continuing political hold that Britain exercised over Ireland. Yet it is perhaps also the case that Joyce wishes to cast aspersions upon the nature of de Valera's revision of the constitution for its own sake. The excessively Catholic nature of de Valera's reforms is illustrated by the fact that the document laying out his proposed changes was

[1] Hofheinz, p. 35.
[2] See Hofheinz, pp. 35-8.

vetted twice by the Vatican before being placed before the *Dáil Éireann,* something that one can imagine would have filled Joyce with scorn. As Caitriona Beaumont has noted, the new legislation also had particularly disastrous consequences for Irish Catholic women. As she explains, by enshrining traditional Catholic approaches to such issues as divorce and abortion in law, women's liberation in Ireland was set back by several decades.[3] Given the important role that ALP will come to play at the climax of Book IV, this aspect of the 'articles of the reconstitution' is perhaps worthy of particular note.

Hofheinz's analysis is then, possibly, slightly limited, and there are several examples that contribute directly to the political theme of the chapter that are not considered by this critic. The cry of 'O rally, O rally, O rally!' (593.3-4) transforms the 'Ballad of Persse O'Reilly' into a call to political action, urging individuals to 'rally round' as 'Array! Surrection!' (both a resurrection and an insurrection) is underway. An exclamation of 'the leader, the leader!' (593.13) again seems to mischievously evoke Irish nationalist discourse by alluding to D.P. Moran's staunchly Catholic political newspaper of the same name, a publication that has already been briefly discussed. A further hint at the new political order occurs in a reference to 'Newirgland's premier' (595.10). Given the immediate context, which is a description of gluttony beyond human limits, it seems likely that this new leader is a Shaunish type. Coming on the tail of this, the Anglo-Irish political theme is also plainly present as a voice declares that 'wisely for us Old Bruton has withdrawn his theory', which, coupled with an allusion to Richard Burton's retracted theory regarding the source of the Nile, implies that Old Britain might have finally abandoned her claim. In typically Wakean fashion, this is immediately countered by the entirely ambiguous assertion 'you are alpsulumply wroght!' (both 595.18-9).

[3] Beaumont, p. 574.

One additional crucial image helps to connect the opening of Book IV to Irish nationalist discourse, and that is the image of the rising sun itself. Strangely, Hofheinz does not comment upon the specific way in which this visual metaphor connects to imagery associated with the Home Rule movement. Yet Joyce himself had previously called attention to this very strategy as the 'ad man' Bloom contemplates the header used for the *Freeman's Journal* (an image of this logo is included as Figure V) and recalls a witticism that he attributes to Arthur Griffith:

> Sun burst on the titlepage. He smiled, pleasing himself. What Arthur Griffith said about the headpiece over the *Freeman* leader: a homerule sun rising up in the northwest from the laneway behind the bank of Ireland. He prolonged his pleased smile. Ikey touch that: homerule sun rising up in the northwest. (*U*, 4.100-4)

Joyce's own use of the image of a new dawn breaking over Ireland, as depicted at the opening of Book IV, naturally steers clear of political cliché, but he is also clearly aware of the potency of such metaphors, something that, as we have already seen, he parodies at the close of Chapter III.2 through a hyperbolic prediction of the moment when 'the west shall shake the east awake' (473.22-3). A further point that ought also to be made in relation to the notion of a national reawakening is the fact that, despite Hofheinz linking the new political dawn suggested at the opening of Book IV 'to ancient Irish myths and legends, immediately placing in the foreground the dense romantic mythography of Irish nationalist resurgence doctrines',[4] the 'mythography' that dominates in Book IV is primarily saintly rather than secular. This conflation of religious and political ideology allows for an understanding of the first half of Book IV as a passage that dramatises the resurgence of a certain kind of Catholic-nationalist discourse, a reading that in my view is absolutely apt.

[4] Hofheinz, p. 35.

Figure V: Header for the *Freeman's Journal*

That Book IV appears to engage extensively with the ascent of a Catholic-nationalist ideology that is distinctly Shaunish in nature is in some respects counter intuitive. The reader may well have expected the work's finale to begin with the resurgence of the book's central patriarch, the frequently anglicized HCE. There is, however, ample evidence that the new hero anticipated in the first half of the chapter is of a very different nature, a fact that could be accounted for if one sees that Shaun has finally entirely usurped his father; or alternatively that it is the Shaunish part of HCE's character that has won through. This figure is hailed as 'The primace of the Gaulls […] in the free state on the air', i.e. within the Catholic hierarchy he has become Primate (something that induces a grimace) of both the Gaels and the Galls, a man who possesses the highest religious authority in the new Irish state. Furthermore, in the hagiographic vignettes that come after this pronouncement (scenes featuring St. Kevin and St. Patrick that Joyce had initially experimented with in the early twenties), the albeit ironically rendered notion of Catholic Ireland's glorious past takes centre stage.

Writing in relation to 'St. Kevin', the most clearly wrought and thematically pertinent of the Book IV vignettes, Steven Morrison has argued that this piece constitutes a different sort of 'revival'

than the one practiced by Anglo-Irish poets such as Yeats, as Joyce does not set out to glorify a pre-Christian era, but rather returns to Ireland's 'Catholic' or 'Christian dawn'.[5] As I have suggested in Chapter 2, this sort of reading is problematic as it seeks to establish too firm a dichotomy between the concerns of the 'Anglo-Irish' and 'Irish Catholic' revival, and Morrison's commentary also throws up further difficulties. For him, this resurrection of ancient Ireland has distinctly positive connotations, and he describes Joyce's Kevin as 'the heresiarchical embodiment of an heresiarchical Church, figured here in all its independent spiritual glory, free of any "italiote interfairance" (504.18)'.[6]

In my view, this is a wildly overblown reading of a passage that is so obviously parodic. Morrison chooses not to discuss the inclusion of the word 'fair' in the punning allusion cited immediately above, something that would seem to suggest that the narrator of the vignette has a least some sympathy with Rome. But his reading is also symptomatic of a broader tendency to elevate the status of Ireland's ancient religious heritage, and to claim that Joyce conceived of Ireland's religious history in a similar manner. The young writer who composed 'Ireland, Island of Saints and Scholars' in 1907 *may* have been willing to buy into this notion, at least to a certain extent, although that essay is extremely double-edged. However, as Joyce completed what he called his 'hagiographic triptych' (*L* I, 406) for Book IV in the late 1930s, it seems that any thoughts of national pride were long forgotten.

In actuality, it seems likely that the target of Joyce's satire at this moment is not the Anglo-Irish version of Irish cultural revivalism, but rather the excessively idealistic ways in which contemporary Catholic writers sought to mythify Ireland's religious heritage, something that we also saw at the close of Chapter III.2. As we know from surviving notebooks, Joyce pored over works of this nature, taking a great deal of notes. I have previously observed that Joyce obsessively took notes

[5] Morrison, p. 182.
[6] *Ibid.*

from Patrician hagiographies while compiling the notebook VI.B.14. As Wim Van Mierlo and Ingeborg Landuyt have demonstrated, another source of inspiration was F.J. Sheed's *The Irish Way*, a book from which Joyce took notes in the early thirties in what is now known as Buffalo notebook VI.B.34.[7] This work provides several portraits of saints, alongside modern day holy men, and sets out to illustrate the superior qualities of a distinctly Irish brand of Catholicism, claiming that 'the Irish way is St. Patrick's way'.[8] Further important sources for the hagiographical theme include J.M. Flood's work of 1917, *Ireland: Its Saints and Scholars*, and Canon John O'Hanlon's encyclopedia of the *Lives of Irish Saints*, published from 1875 onwards, sources that are also dealt with by Van Mierlo.[9]

It is easy to detect the ludicrously hyperbolic and repetitive tones of an over-awed hagiographer at the opening of 'St. Kevin', when the narrator speaks

> of Kevin, of increate God the servant, of the Lord Creator a filial fearer, who, given to the growing grass, took to the tall timber, slippery dick the springy heeler, as we have see, so we have heard, what we have received, that we have transmitted, thus we shall hope, this we shall pray (604.27-31).

When reading this passage it is difficult to fathom the logic of Morrison's claim that the sketch represents a vindication of the 'heresiarchal' Irish Church, figured in terms of its independent spiritual glory. Here, Joyce produces a relatively straightforward parody of a turn-of-the-century religious *Life* that presents the quest for such glory in terms that are simply ridiculous.

---

[7] See their essay 'Catholicism, Nationalism, and Exile: Sheed and Ward's *Irish Way* in VI.B.34', *Genetic Joyce Studies*, 2 (2002) <http://www.geneticjoycestudies.org/GJS2WimInge.htm>. Accessed 1 January 2012.
[8] F.J. Sheed (ed.), *The Irish Way* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1932), p. vi.
[9] See Wim Van Mierlo, 'Joyce's Sources: Intertextuality and Pretextuality in *Finnegans Wake* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Miami, 1997), pp. 85-97 and *passim*.

The miracles ascribed to Kevin throughout the sketch are of the most ironic and irreverent nature. The hermit appears to have carried hot coals but dropped them ('dropping by the way the lapful of live coals' [604.35]); to have subjected himself to nettle stings, although the incident actually sounds more sexual than painful ('smoothing out Nelly Nettle and her lad of mettle, full of stings' [604.36-605.1]), and to have fed only on 'gnewgnawns bones' (605.1), a description that sounds more cannibalistic than pious, and that might contain an embedded reference to Cardinal Newman. Finally the narrator notes that Kevin has left 'all the messy messy to look after our douche douche' (605.1-2), possibly an infantilised way of saying that Kevin has abandoned the 'messy' world in order to be responsible for our baptisms, or simply our personal hygiene.

The conclusion of the vignette is equally absurd. As '*doctor insularis* of the universal church' (606.7-8) Kevin lies in meditation in an unreachable bathtub *cum* altar, contemplating the mysteries of the universe. Our 'hero' here becomes an advocate of the most ludicrous kind of isolationism, something that might be intended as a pointed jibe targeting the economic doctrine of Irish self-sufficiency promoted by the likes of Griffith and Moran. As the historian Terence Brown notes, this was an ideology that was translated into policy under de Valera, and this leader levied exceptionally high taxes on imports in a bid to encourage local industry.[10] Certainly while he is 'ninthly enthroned, in the concentric centre of the translated water' (606.3-4; the 'translation' in question could be the shift from ordinary water to a tool for baptism, endowed with the Holy Spirit) Kevin's suffers no interference from, nor can he have any impact upon, the wider world.

After 'St. Kevin' comes an impenetrable sketch featuring St. Patrick and Bishop Berkeley, a set-piece that apparently constitutes a Wakean restaging of the Christianisation of Ireland by her

[10] See Terence Brown, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History, 1922-1985* (London: Fontana, 1981), pp. 141-170.

patron saint, although I am unable to pick out many legible threads. Indeed, a perverse sense of logic is perhaps precisely the point of this absurd vignette, which inverts the terms of the original legend by describing the conversion of St. Patrick *by* Ireland. Beyond this, the narrative collapses into further chaos, and the work itself begins to reflect the reader's consternation: 'What has gone? How it ends?' (614.19). Yet, just as the reader is drowning in language, a fresh voice emerges that is distinctly human and accessible. This is because we are suddenly given access to the content of ALP's letter, her long awaited reflection on the actions of her husband.

A 'preprotestant caveat' (534.16)

The role of HCE in relation to the book's overarching religious theme is enormously complex, and, as I noted in the Introduction, a full consideration of his dissenting, often Anglo-sounding, allegiances would require a study of its own. With that said, this character is connected to the book's Catholic theme in numerous, often perplexing, ways, and should therefore be given some consideration in these terms. As we have already seen, the promise of HCE's resurrection looms large as the *Wake* draws to a close, but it is the rejuvenation of Irish Catholic ideology that appears to be underway in the first half of Book IV—a knotted state of affairs that I hope to address, at least partially, in this concluding section. Given the extremely convoluted nature of the *Wake*'s final chapter this is a provisional reading, something that is to an extent true of all interpretations of the book. However, I do believe that some of the patterns that I seek to extract in this interpretation can aid in our overall understanding of the historical and religious tensions inherent in Book IV.

As is well known to scholars of the *Wake*, a central mystery of the work is the nature of HCE's crime or sin in the Phoenix Park (symbolically an Edenic garden), an incident that may or may not

have been sexual in nature, and that could have involved HCE, two young girls, three soldiers, or any combination of the above. Throughout the *Wake*, the question of HCE's guilt is frequently raised, but never answered with any certainty. We are promised the arrival of a letter that will explain all—the words of ALP as mediated by the pen of Shem, and delivered by Shaun the Post—a document that, in relation to its material properties, is placed under the microscope in Chapter I.5. Alas unsurprisingly when the letter finally reaches its destination in Book IV we are left none the wiser. ALP seeks to defend her husband in terms that actually begin to sound like an accusation, a mode of narrative slippage that is characteristic of her talk about her husband throughout. The nature of what happened in the park remains undetermined.

At a theological or philosophical level of interpretation, the endlessly deferred revelation of HCE's 'sin' could be understood as the means by which Joyce seeks to completely destabilise ideas of moral judgement, an alternative to the 'economy of salvation' laid down by Fr. Purdon in 'Grace', in which the terms inscribed in the ledger of one's soul by the 'spiritual accountant' (*D*, 198) are open to constant revision. As I observed in Chapter 1, at the rare moments when Joyce does experiment with the details of heretical theology in the *Wake*, this is done in relation to the scene in the park. Furthermore, when it comes to Joyce's treatment of Pelagius, the heretic who, after Bruno, appears to occupy the most important place in the book, questions relating to sin and salvation are of central importance. However, as we have seen throughout this thesis, Joyce is also frequently concerned with the social mechanisms by which sin is evaluated, be it in the titillating environment of the confessional, via the gossiping washerwomen who wring out the Dubliners' dirty laundry, or by the crowd of pub customers who debate HCE's guilt. In this regard, Joyce's portrait of HCE could be viewed as a sympathetic one. Hounded because his behaviour fails to conform to conservative Catholic standards,

HCE could be viewed as a latter day version of Charles Stewart Parnell, a man who was, according to the popular version of history, driven out by his own party owing to the judgement of the Catholic hierarchy. Indeed, Parnell's famous bitterly ironic advice to his followers that, when they 'sell' they should 'fetch his price', is a refrain that, in various distortions, is associated with HCE throughout the book. Furthermore, popular images associated with the Parnell myth—such as the metaphor of the hounded fox or stag—also make their way into the tale of HCE's persecution in the early chapters of Book I.

Yet the Joyce of the *Wake* clearly did not wish to indulge straightforwardly in such political legends, and the anti-heroic qualities that he attributes to HCE are many. After a rise in status that has led to a 'long vicefreegal existence' (33.30)—a 'free' existence that might, on the other hand, be a frugal one— HCE appears to be in bed with members of the Anglo-Irish ascendency. Throughout the book HCE is often aligned with invaders or conquerors, be this in relation to his Scandinavian heritage, which connects him to Ireland's Viking violators, or to his Anglo-Protestant leanings. When this is translated into domestic terms, Joyce also gives the impression of a violent, drunken individual who has, through his marriage, corrupted a young Irish girl. As the washerwomen put it in one account of the couple's 'courtship', he has 'raped [ALP] home' (197.21). His apparently incestuous relationship with his daughter, Issy, obviously casts further aspersions upon his character.

This exceptionally ambiguous approach to notions of heroism is also a feature of what might be considered HCE's climatic moment in the *Wake*, the finale of Chapter III.3. As Yawn's voice gives way to words that appear to emanate from HCE, the voice that is speaking strives to demonstrate his gigantic status, and to highlight his role as a great builder of cities. Beginning with a cry of 'Amstadam' (532.6)—appropriately enough an allusion to a major centre for Reformed Protestantism—this new

HCE might offer a greeting or insult to the Eternal City: Eternest cittas, heil! (532.6). This phrase could be intended either as a Germanic recognition of status, as a call for Rome to come to 'heel', or as a cry that sends the holy city to hell. Further ideas relating to supreme power also emerge in this opening paragraph as HCE alludes to the 'pontofacts massimust' (532.9), a punning allusion to the Pontifex Maximus, the high priest of pre-Christian Rome from whom the Pope derives his title. In this formulation, it is possible that he is claiming the seat of authority for himself. What is clearer, however, is the manner in which HCE invokes his Anglo-Saxon credentials in order to assert his status, declaring 'I am known throughout the world wherever my good Allenglisches Angleslachsen is spoken' (532.9-11).

Throughout this sequence, HCE seeks credit for the construction of the great urban centres of the world, but his discourse is littered with allusions to Protestantism, and particularly to the Church of England. HCE declares that as a youngster he was 'intended for broadchurch' (533.27), and stammers out his 'duddud dirtynine articles' (534.12), both of which allusions, despite Joyce's unrelenting irony, imply Anglican allegiances. The cry of 'There is nothing like leuther' (536.36) is also fairly clear-cut, although in this construction Luther sounds a little leathery. On top of this there is, however, a suggestion that this monumental figure might predate such distinctions. Invoking a 'preprotestant caveat' (534.16) HCE seeks to locate himself pre-Reformation. This idea is taken further when he claims to have 'sept up twinminsters, the pro and the con' (552.3), a boast that seems to intend to imply that HCE himself was responsible for the split of the Western churches, being the architect of the opposing 'minsters' that exist in many of England's major cities.

The rich, and ostensibly glorious, nature of the imagery employed in this chapter might be what leads Bernard Benstock to suppose that the *Wake* is a celebration of HCE's reformation spirit,

something that he believes Joyce could have indulged in without recourse to restrictive Protestant religious creeds.[11] This is plausible given Joyce's preference for schismatic thinking. But, at the level of character, this celebration of HCE becomes problematic. Throughout the final section of Chapter III.3, it becomes obvious that HCE does not indulge in schismatic thinking for its own sake, but rather because he is trying to gain every advantage possible in the attempt to prove his own innocence. This rather deflated and debunked vision of the 'Master Builder' also comes through in Chapter III.4, where HCE becomes Mr. Porter, an apparently bankrupt Irish patriarch. What is more, towards the close of Book IV, the deflation of HCE finally seems to be completed.

'But a puny' (627.22-4)

Despite our readerly suspicions regarding the credibility of HCE's claims, when ALP does begin to speak towards the end of Book IV, it seems that she will again embark upon a defence of her husband, and insist upon his status as 'erect, confident and heroic' (619.14). But as her oral letter enters its postscript, and ALP finally seems to accept that her man will not rise up as she desires, there is an emotional shift in tone, and she dramatically proclaims,

> I thought you were all glittering with the noblest of carriage. You're only a bumpkin. I thought you the great in all things, in guilt and in glory. You're but a puny (627.22-4).

HCE has, alas, not become her risen Christ, but a physically diminished puny. If the relationship between the couple can be understood as a microcosm of broader cultural shifts, then it is not a stretch

[11] See Benstock, 'The Final Apostasy', p. 433.

to suggest that the demise of HCE is intended, on one level at least, to dramatise the decline of the Imperial British power in Ireland, and the ascent of a new Catholic hierarchy. Given that Shaun, as a son of HCE, is in part his father, the legacy of Ireland's colonial past could be said to live on through the new generation.

This reading is, I believe, a plausible one. Yet what this shift in power might mean for ALP, and for Joyce's broader understanding of the fate of women in Catholic Ireland, is far from clear-cut. The awakening of Ireland into modernity at the close of the book seems laden with possibilities. Indeed, this portion of the *Wake* has caused John Bishop to claim that ALP becomes the 'New Free Woman' who envelopes everything that is inside the book,[12] something that might be reflected in her attempt to break free of social bonds when she reverts to being 'the wild Amazia' (627.28), although this kind of 'primitivism' hardly seems compatible with the new feminist ideals. However, ALP's connection to this new world is typically ambiguous. As she announces her return 'back to you, my cold father, my cold mad father, my cold mad feary father' (628.1-2), an image in which patriarchal and theological imagery remains prominent, it seems that ALP's revelation may have come too late, as she is faced with death.

This lack of certainty is, perhaps, classically Wakean, and entirely in keeping with Joyce's undetermined mode. Set against a complex historical backdrop in which one patriarchal system of governance has overtaken another, the future of women in Catholic Ireland is not something that can be predicted or defined. The mature Joyce who wrote the *Wake* is neither a politician nor a theologian, and the book cannot be appropriated as a social or religious manifesto. Rather, through the deeply human voice that comes through in ALP's death throes, he explores the position of the individual in a

[12] Bishop, p. 382

messy world, where events will not fall neatly into easily recognisable categories. Ultimately it seems that all ALP can do is pass the keys to the knowledge that she has gained to her daughter. It is hers to run with.

It could be argued that, in some respects, Joyce's epic human drama was actually destined to miss its mark. His instincts about the increasing conservative and Catholic direction in which Ireland was heading were correct, and as a consequence the author did not gain a wide appreciation in his home country until the last years of the twentieth century. By this time, the Catholic Church, post Vatican II, had changed dramatically and a great deal of the culture that is at the heart of the *Wake* had become obsolete and unrecognisable to the new generation. Yet these facts of the reception history do not, in my opinion, in any way diminish the weight of the *Wake*'s achievement. As a human drama that in certain important ways relates to a very specific place and time, the book invites us to reconsider our conception of that age. At a more universal level, the manner in which Joyce tears at the fabric of a conservative, dogmatic, sexually and intellectually repressive society could be seen as a model for all ages.

Bibliography of Works Consulted

Works by Joyce

James Joyce, *Dubliners* (London: Penguin, 1956)

—, *Letters of James Joyce: Volume I*, ed. by Stuart Gilbert (New York: Viking, 1957)

—, *Stephen Hero*, ed. by Theodore Spencer *et al* (New York: New Directions, 1963)

—, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (New York: Viking, 1964)

—, *The Workshop of Daedalus*, ed. by Robert Scholes and Richard M. Kain (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1965)

—, *Letters of James Joyce: Volumes II and III*, ed. by Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking, 1966)

—, *Finnegans Wake* (London: Faber and Faber, 1975)

—, *Selected Letters of James Joyce*, ed. by Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking; London: Faber and Faber, 1975)

—, *The James Joyce Archive*, ed. by Michael Groden *et al* (New York: Garland, 1977-9)

—, *Ulysses*, ed. by Hans Walter Gabler *et al* (New York: Garland, 1984)

—, *Critical Writings*, ed. by Ellsworth Mason and Richard Ellmann (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989)

—, *The 'Finnegans Wake' Notebooks at Buffalo: VI.B.1*, ed. by Vincent Deane, Daniel Ferrer and Geert Lernout (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), p. 132

— , *The 'Finnegans Wake' Notebooks at Buffalo: Notebook VI.B.6*, ed. by Vincent Deane, Daniel Ferrer and Geert Lernout (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002)

— , *The 'Finnegans Wake' Notebooks at Buffalo: Notebook VI.B.10*, ed. by Vincent Deane, Daniel Ferrer and Geert Lernout (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002)

— , *The 'Finnegans Wake' Notebooks at Buffalo: Notebook VI.B.14*, ed. by Vincent Deane, Daniel Ferrer and Geert Lernout (Turnhout: Brepols, 2002)

Secondary Joyce Criticism

Atherton, James S., *The Books at the Wake: A Study of Literary Allusions in James Joyce's 'Finnegans Wake'* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1974)

Baird, J.L. and Owens, Coílín, 'Shem as Crucified Word: FW 185-6', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 14.3 (1977), 251-4

Beckett, Samuel, 'Dante... Bruno .Vico ..Joyce', in *Our Exagmination Round his Factification for his Incamination of 'Work in Progress'*, by Samuel Beckett *et al* (London: Faber and Faber, 1929, rpt 1960), pp. 1-22

Begnal, Michael H. and Eckley, Grace, *Narrator and Character in 'Finnegans Wake'* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1975)

Benstock, Bernard, 'The Final Apostasy: James Joyce and *Finnegans Wake*', *English Literary History*, 28.4 (1961), 417-37

— , *Joyce-again's wake: an Analysis of 'Finnegans Wake'* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965)

Benstock, Shari, 'The Genuine Christine: Psychodynamics of Issy', in *Women in Joyce*, ed. by Suzette Henke and Elaine Unkeless (Brighton: Harvester, 1982), pp. 169-196

Bishop, John, *Joyce's Book of the Dark: 'Finnegans Wake'* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986)

Boyle, Robert, 'The Artist as Balzacian Wild Ass', in *A Conceptual Guide to 'Finnegans Wake'*, ed. by Michael H. Begnal and Fritz Senn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974), pp. 71-82

— , *James Joyce's Pauline Vision: A Catholic Exposition* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press: 1978)

Bradley, Bruce, *James Joyce's Schooldays* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1982)

Brivic, Sheldon, *Joyce's Waking Women: An Introduction to 'Finnegans Wake'* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1995)

Brooker, Joseph, *Joyce's Critics: Transitions in Reading and Culture* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 2004)

Campbell, Joseph and Robinson, Henry Morton, *A Skeleton Key to 'Finnegans Wake'* (London: Faber and Faber, 1947)

Cheng, Vincent, *Joyce, Race, and Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Costello, Peter, *James Joyce, The Years of Growth: 1882-1915* (London: Kyle Cathie, 1992)

Crispi, Luca and Slote Sam (eds.), *How Joyce Wrote 'Finnegans Wake': A Chapter-by-Chapter Genetic Guide* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 2007)

Cunningham, Valentine, 'Introduction: The Necessity of Heresy', in *Figures of Heresy: Radical Theology in English and American Writing, 1800-2000*, ed. by Andrew Dix and Jonathan Taylor (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2006), pp. 1-20

Deane, Vincent, 'HCE and the Fall of Pelagius', in *'Finnegans Wake': Fifty Years, European Joyce Studies 2*, ed. by Geert Lernout (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1990), pp. 190-23

Deppman, Jed, 'The Return of Medievalism: James Joyce in 1923', in *European Joyce Studies 13: Medieval Joyce*, ed. by Lucia Boldrini (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 45-78

Downes, Gareth Joseph, '"A Terrible Heretic": James Joyce and Catholicism', in *Critical Ireland: New Essays in Literature and Culture*, ed. by Aaron Kelly and Alan A. Gillis (Dublin: Four Courts, 2001), pp. 55-62

—, 'James Joyce, Catholicism and Heresy: With Specific Reference to Giordano Bruno' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of St. Andrews, 2003)

Eide, Marian, 'Gender and Sexuality', in *James Joyce in Context*, ed. by John McCourt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 76-87

Fairhall, James, *James Joyce and the Question of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993)

Fargnoli, A. Nicholas, 'A-Taufing in the *Wake*: Joyce's Baptismal Motif', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 20.3 (1983), 293-305

Fordham, Finn, *Lots of Fun at 'Finnegans Wake': Unravelling Universals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

Gibson, Andrew, *Joyce's Revenge: History, Politics and Aesthetics in 'Ulysses'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002)

Gifford, Don, *Joyce Annotated: Notes for 'Dubliners' and 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man'*, rev. ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982)

—, with Robert J. Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, rev. ed. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988)

Glasheen, Adaline, *Third Census of 'Finnegans Wake'* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977)

Gottfried, Roy, *Joyce's Misbelief* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008)

Hayman, David, *A First-Draft Version of 'Finnegans Wake'* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963)

—, *The 'Wake' in Transit* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1990)

Hederman, Mark Patrick, *The Haunted Inkwell* (Dublin: Columba, 2001)

Henke, Suzette, 'Anna the "Allmaziful": Toward the Evolution of a Feminine Discourse', in *James Joyce and His Contemporaries*, ed. by Diana A. Ben-Merre and Maureen Murphy (New York and Westport: Greenwood Press, 1989), pp. 37-47

—, *James Joyce and the Politics of Desire* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990)

Herr, Cheryl, *Joyce's Anatomy of Culture* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1986)

Hofheinz, Thomas C., *Joyce and the Invention of Irish History: 'Finnegans Wake' in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Hughes, Eamonn, 'Joyce and Catholicism', in *Irish Writers and Religion*, ed. by Robert Welch (Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe, 1992), pp. 116-137

Hynes, Sam, 'The Catholicism of James Joyce', *Commonweal*, 55.20 (1952), 487-9

Kime Scott, Bonnie, *Joyce and Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press; Brighton: Harvester, 1984)

Leonard, Garry, *Advertising and Commodity Culture in Joyce* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998)

Lernout, Geert, *Help My Unbelief: James Joyce and Religion* (London: Continuum, 2010)

Leslie, Shane, 'Review of *Ulysses*', in *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage, Volume 1*, ed. by Robert Demming (London: Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1970), pp. 206-11

Lowe-Evans, Mary, *Catholic Nostalgia in Joyce and Company* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008)

McCarthy, Patrick A., 'Making Herself Tidal: Chapter I.8', in *How Joyce Wrote 'Finnegans Wake: A Chapter-by-Chapter Genetic Guide* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 2007), pp. 163-180

McGreevy, Thomas, 'The Catholic Element in *Work in Progress*', in *Our Exagmination Round his Factification for Incamination of 'Work in Progress'*, by Samuel Beckett *et al* (London: Faber and Faber, 1929, rpt 1960), pp. 117-27

McHugh, Roland, *Annotations to 'Finnegans Wake': Third Edition* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005)

McLuhan, H.M., 'Joyce, Aquinas, and the Poetic Process', in *Joyce's Portrait: Criticism & Critiques* (New York: Meredith, 1962), pp. 249-265

Mason, Ellsworth, 'James Joyce's Shrill Note—The *Piccolo della Sera* Articles', *Twentieth Century Literature*, II (1956), 115-139

Montesi, Albert, 'Joyce's Blue Guitar: Wallace Stevens and *Finnegans Wake*', in *'Finnegans Wake': A Casebook*, ed. by John Harty III (New York: Garland, 1991), pp. 99-111

Montgomery, Niall, 'The Pervigilium Phoenicis', *New Mexico Quarterly*, 23 (1953), 437-72

Morrison, Steven John, 'Heresy, Heretics and Heresiarchs in the Works of James Joyce (unpublished

doctoral thesis, University of London, 1999)

Morse, J. Mitchell, *The Sympathetic Alien: James Joyce and Catholicism* (New York: New York University Press, 1959)

Mullin, Katherine, *James Joyce, Sexuality and Social Purity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Nolan, Emer, *James Joyce and Nationalism* (London: Routledge, 1995)

Noon, William T., *Joyce and Aquinas* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1957)

—, 'The Religious Position of James Joyce', in *James Joyce: His Place in World Literature*, ed. by Wolodymyr T. Zymer (Lubbock: Texas Tech Press, 1969), pp. 7-22

Norris, Margot, *The Decentered Universe of 'Finnegans Wake: A Structuralist Analysis* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974)

O'Rourke, Fran, 'Philosophy', in *James Joyce in Context*, ed. by John McCourt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009) pp. 320-331

Parsons, Madeline, 'James Joyce, *Ulysses* and the Culture of Irish Catholicism' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 2008)

Pierce, David, 'The Reading Matter of "Wandering Rocks"', in *Joyce's "Wandering Rocks": European Joyce Studies 12*, ed. by Andrew Gibson and Steven Morrison (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 73-106

Platt, Len, *Joyce and the Anglo-Irish: A Study of Joyce and the Literary Revival* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998)

Polhemus, Robert M., *Comic Faith: The Great Tradition from Austen to Joyce* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982)

Purdy, Strother B., 'Is There a Multiverse in *Finnegans Wake* and Does That Make it a Religious Book?', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 36.3 (Spring 1999), 587-602

Rabaté, Jean Michel, *Joyce Upon the Void: the Genesis of Doubt* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991)

Riquelme, John Paul, '*Stephen Hero* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*: Transforming the Nightmare of History', in *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. by Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 103-21

Senn, Fritz 'Dogmad or doubliboused?', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 17.3 (1980), 237-261

Schlossman, Beryl, *Joyce's Catholic Comedy of Language* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1985)

Schork, R. J., *Joyce and Hagiography: Saints Above!* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000)

Sullivan, Kevin, *Joyce Among the Jesuits* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1958)

Sultan, Stanley, *The Argument of 'Ulysses'* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1965)

Tindall, William York, *A Reader's Guide to 'Finnegans Wake'* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996)

Thurston, Luke, 'Psychoanalysis', in *James Joyce in Context*, ed. by John McCourt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 88-98

Ussher, Arland, *Three Great Irishmen: Shaw, Yeats, Joyce* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1953)

Vanderham, Paul, *James Joyce and Censorship: The Trials of 'Ulysses'* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998)

Van Mierlo, Wim, 'Joyce's Sources: Intertextuality and Pretextuality in *Finnegans Wake* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Miami, 1997)

Anon, *The Spirit of Popery: An Exposure of its Origin, Character, and Results. In Letters from a Father to his Children* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1840)

— , *The Jesuit Libel Case* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1902)

Atkin, Nicholas and Tallett, Frank, *Priests Prelates and People: A History of European Catholicism Since1750* (London; New York: Tauris, 2003)

Beaumont, Caitriona, 'Women, Citizenship and Catholicism in the Irish Free State, 1922-1948', *Women's History Review*, 6 (1997), 563-585

Behan, Brendan, *Borstal Boy* (London: Hutchinson, 1958)

Birch, Deborah J., *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages: Continuity and Change* (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 2000)

Bowen, Desmond, *Paul Cardinal Cullen and the Shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1983)

Brockman, William S., *James Joyce Checklist* <http://norman.hrc.utexas.edu/JamesJoyceChecklist>. [Accessed 1 January 2012]

Brown, Stewart J. and Miller, David W. (eds.), *Piety and Power in Ireland: Essays in Honour of Emmet Larkin* (Belfast: Queen's University of Belfast, 2000)

Brown Terence, *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History, 1922-2002* (London: HarperCollins, 2004)

Bunkley, Josephine M., *The Escaped Nun, or, Disclosures of Convent Life and the Confessions of a Sister of Charity: Giving a More Minute Detail of the Inner Life and a Bolder Revelation of the Mysteries*

and Secrets of Nunneries Than Have Ever Before Been Submitted to the American Public (New York: DeWitt and Davenport, 1855)

Casey, Christine, *Dublin: The City Within the Grand and Royal Canals and the Circular Road, with the Phoenix Park* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006)

Chadwick, Owen, *A History of the Popes, 1830-1914* (Oxford: Clarenden, 1998)

Chiniquy, Charles, *The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional* (Chicago: A. Craig and Co., 1880)

Cullen, J.A., *The Sodality Manual, or a Collection of Prayers and Spiritual Exercises for the Members of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary* (Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son, 1886)

Cullen, Paul, *Pastoral Letter of His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland, etc. to the Catholic Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Dublin, on the Holy Season of Lent* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1854)

Deppman, Jed, Ferrer, Daniel, and Groden, Michael (eds.), *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-textes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004)

de Sade, D.A.F., *The Complete 'Justine': Philosophy in the Bedroom, and Other Writings*, ed. and trans. by Richard Seaver and Austryn Wainhouse *et al* (New York: Grove, 1965)

Duffy, Eamon, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes*, 2nd ed. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002)

Ellmann, Richard, *James Joyce*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982)

Elston, M.A., 'Elizabeth Garrett Anderson', in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/30406?docPos=1>. [Accessed 1 January 2012]

Ernst, Morris L., *The Best is Yet* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1945)

Feeney, Leonard, *London is a Place* <http://www.fatherfeeney.org/other/london/london8.html>. [Accessed 1 January 2012]

Fenton, Elizabeth, *Religious Liberties: Anti-Catholicism and Liberal Democracy in Nineteenth-Century U. S. Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Finn, Francis J., *Percy Wynn; Or, Making a Boy of Him* (Charlotte: TAN, 2000)

Flood, J.M., *Ireland: Its Saints and Scholars* (Talbot: Dublin, 1917)

Foster, R.F., *Modern Ireland: 1600-1972* (London: Penguin, 1989)

—, *W.B. Yeats: A Life, II. The Arch-Poet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)

Gillespie, Raymond, 'Popular and Unpopular Religion: A View from Early Modern Ireland', in *Irish Popular Culture, 1650-1850*, ed. by James S. Donnelly, Jr. and Kerby A. Miller (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998), pp. 30-49

Graziano, Frank, *Wounds of Love: The Mystical Marriage of Saint Rose of Lima* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

Greenblatt, Stephen, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: from More to Shakespeare* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980)

— and Michael Payne (ed.), *The Greenblatt Reader* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005)

Hales, E.E.Y., *Pio Nono: A Study in European Politics and Religion in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: P.J. Kenedy and Sons, 1954)

—, *The Catholic Church in the Modern World: a Survey From the French Revolution to the Present* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1958)

Harrison, Kathryn, *Saint Thérèse of Lisieux* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2003)

Hibbert, Christopher, *Edward VII, A Portrait* (London: Allen Lane, 1976)

Hynes, Eugene, *Knock: The Virgin's Apparition in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2008)

Irvin, Dale T. and Sunquist, Scott W., *History of the World Christian Movement, Volume 1: Earliest Christianity to 1453* (New York: Orbis; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2001)

Joyce, Stanislaus, *My Brother's Keeper* (New York: Viking, 1958)

Kearns, Kevin C., *Dublin Tenement Life: an Oral History* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1994)

Kennedy, Finola, *Frank Duff: A Life Story* (Tunbridge Wells: Burns and Oates, 2011)

Kiberd, Declan, *Inventing Ireland: The Literature of the Modern Nation* (London: Random House, 1995)

Kinane, Thomas H., *His Life, His Heroic Virtues, His Labours…* (Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son, 1889)

Knowlson, James, *Damned to Fame: The Life of Samuel Beckett* (London: Bloomsbury, 1996)

Larkin, Emmet, 'The Devotional Revolution in Ireland, 1850-75, *The American Historical Review*, 77.3 (1972), 625-652 (p. 644)

—, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Plan of Campaign in Ireland, 1886-1888* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1978)

—, *The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland and the Fall of Parnell, 1888-1891* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1979)

—, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Home Rule Movement in Ireland, 1870-1874* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1990)

—, *The Pastoral Role of the Roman Catholic Church in Pre-Famine Ireland, 1750-1850* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2006)

Lee, J.J., *Ireland, 1912-1985: Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Leo XIII, *Providentissimus Deus: Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the Study of Holy Scripture* <http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_18111893_providentissimus-deus_en.html> [Accessed 1 January 2012]

—, *Aeterni Patris: Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII on the Restoration of Christian Philosophy* <http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/leo_xiii/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_04081879_aeterni-patris_en.html> [Accessed 1 January 2012]

Leslie, Anita, 'Leslie, Sir John Randolph, third baronet (1885–1971)', rev. by Clare L. Taylor, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 <http://0 www.oxforddnb.com.catalogue.ulrls.lon.ac.uk/view/article/31354>. [Accessed 1 January 2012]

Logan, John, 'The National Curriculum', in *The Irish Book in English 1800-1891, Volume IV*, ed. by James H. Murphy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 499-517

Luddy, Maria, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

—, *Women in Ireland, 1800-1918: A Documentary History* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1995)

MacDonagh, Oliver, *States of Mind: A Study of the Anglo-Irish, 1780-1980* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1983)

MacPhilpin, John, *The Apparitions and Miracles at Knock* (Dublin: Gill, 1880)

Maddox, Brenda, *Nora: The Real Life of Molly Bloom* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1988, rpt 2000)

Martindale, C. C., *Bernard Vaughan, S. J.* (London: Longmans, 1923)

Merton, Thomas *Seven Storey Mountain* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948)

Miller, David W., *Church, State, and Nation in Ireland 1898-1921* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973)

Moll, Sabastian, *The Arch-Heretic Marcion* (Philadelphia: Coronet, 2010)

Monk, Maria, *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk, or, the Hidden Secrets of a Nun's Life in a Convent Exposed* (Manchester: Milner, 1836)

Moran, D.P., *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, ed. by Patrick Maume (Dublin, University College Dublin Press, 2006)

Moyer, Elgin Sylvester, *The Wycliffe Biographical Dictionary of the Church* (Chicago: Moody, 1982)

O'Carroll, Ciaran, *Paul Cardinal Cullen: Portrait of a Practical Nationalist* (Lancaster, PA: Veritas, 2008)

Ó Crualaoich, Geroid, 'The Merry Wake', in *Irish Popular Culture, 1650-1850*, ed. by James S. Donnelly, Jr. and Kerby A. Miller (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998), pp. 173-200

Ó Giolláin, Diarmuid, 'The Pattern', in *Irish Popular Culture, 1650 – 1850*, ed. by James S. Donnelly, Jr. and Kerby A. Miller (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1998), pp. 201 – 221

O'Hanlon, John, *The Lives of the Irish Saints…Compiled from Calendars, Martyrologies, and Various Sources Relating to the Ancient Church of Ireland* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1875 -)

Orsini, M., *The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God: Taken from the Traditions of the East, the Manners of the Israelites, and the Writings of the Holy Fathers*, trans. by Patrick Power (Dublin: James Duffy and Co., c. 1860)

Pius IX, *Ineffabilis Deus: Apostolic Constitution Issued by Pope Pius IX on December 8, 1854.* < http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius09/p9ineff.htm>. [Accessed 1 January 2012]

—, *Saepe Venerabiles Fratres, On Thanksgiving for Twenty-Five Years of Pontificate: Encyclical of Pope*

Pius IX, August 5, 1871 <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius09/p9saepev.htm>. [Accessed 1 January 2012]

Pius X, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis: Encyclical of Pope Pius X on the Doctrines of the Modernists* <http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_x/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_19070908_pascendi-dominici-gregis_en.html>. [Accessed 1 January 2012]

Power, Arthur, *Conversations with James Joyce*, ed. by Clive Hart (London: Millington, 1974)

Putnam, George Haven, *The Censorship of the Church of Rome and its Influence upon the Production and Distribution of Literature: A Study of the Prohibitory and Expurgatory Indexes, Together With Some Consideration of the Effects of Protestant Censorship and of Censorship by the State: Volume II* (New York and London: The Knickerbocker Press, 1907)

Richo, David, *Mary Within Us: A Jungian Contemplation of her Titles and Powers* (Berkeley: Human Development Books, 2007)

Scallan, Dorothy, *The Holy Man of Tours* (Charlotte, NC: Tan, 1990)

Sheed, F.J. (ed.), *The Irish Way* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1932)

Strauss, G.L.M., *Men Who Have Made the New German Empire: Volume 1* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1875)

Strayer, Joseph, *The Albigensian Crusades* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991)

Various, *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907-12). <www.newadvent.org/cathen>. [Accessed 1 January 2012]

—, *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Vaughan, Bernard, *The Sins of Society: Words Spoken by Father Bernard Vaughan of the Society of Jesus in the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Mayfair During the Season 1906*, 7th ed. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Tobner and Co., 1906)

—, *What of Today?* (New York: McBride, Nast and Company, 1915)

Warne, Vanessa and Colligan, Colette, 'The Man Who Wrote a New Woman Novel: Grant Allen's "The Woman Who Did" and the Gendering of New Woman Authorship', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 33.1 (2005), 21-46

Webb, Alfred, *Compendium of Irish Biography: Comprising Sketches of Distinguished Irishmen, and of Eminent Persons Connected with Ireland by Office or by their Writings* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, 1878)

White, Hayden, *The Content of Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987)

Newspapers cited: *Connaught Tribune*, *Dublin Evening Mail*, *Freeman's Journal*, *Irish Independent*, *Irish Times*, *Leader*, *Tuam News*

Appendix A

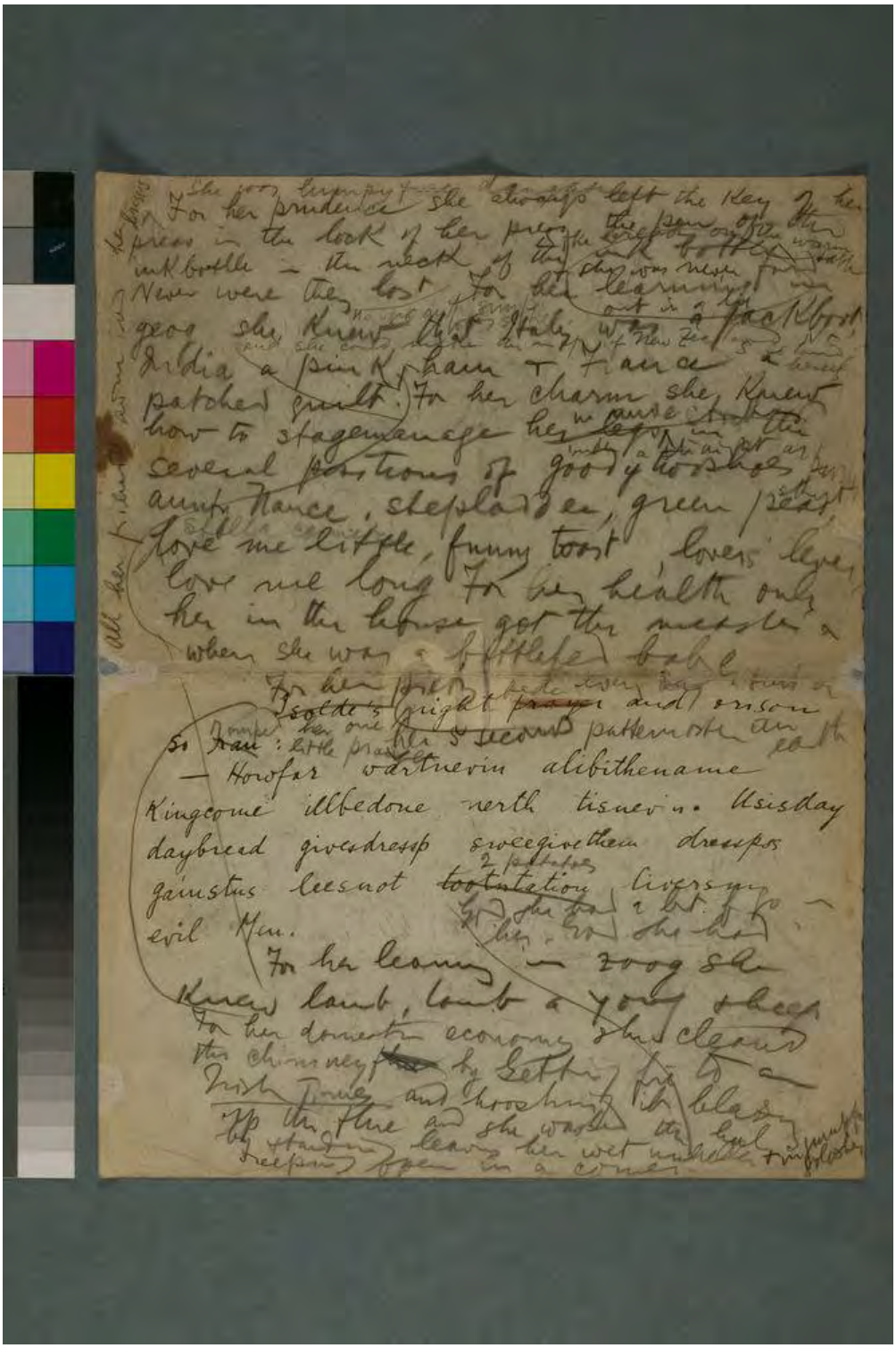
Allusion in *Finnegans Wake*	**Corresponding passage in Charles Chiniquy, *The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional* (Chicago: A. Craig and Co., 1875; 1880)**
'I advise you to conceal yourself, my little friend, as I have said a moment ago and put your hands in my hands' (188.1-3)	'I was invited by my young friend Louis Casault to conceal myself with him, in an adjoining room, where we could hear everything without being seen […] I said to my child, "If you love me, put your hand on my heart, and promise never to go again to confess"' (pp. 191-5)
'Let us pry. We thought, would and did. *Cur, quicquid, ubi, quando, quomodo, quoties, quibis auxiliis?*' (188.8-9)	' "Lest the confessor should indolently hesitate in tracing out the circumstances of any sin, let him have the following versicle of circumstances in readiness: "*Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando.* Who, which, where, with whom, why, how, when"' (p. 71)
'must I too nerve myself to pray for the loss of selfrespect' (188.20-1)	'they struggle to nerve themselves' (p. 27)
'to equip me for the horrible necessity of scandalising' (188.21)	'the horrible necessity of speaking of things' (p. 24)
'(my dear sisters, are you ready?)' (188.22)	'Dear sister, are you ready to begin your confession?' (p. 44)
'while we all swin together in the pool of Sodom?'	'to swim with me and all her priests in those waters of

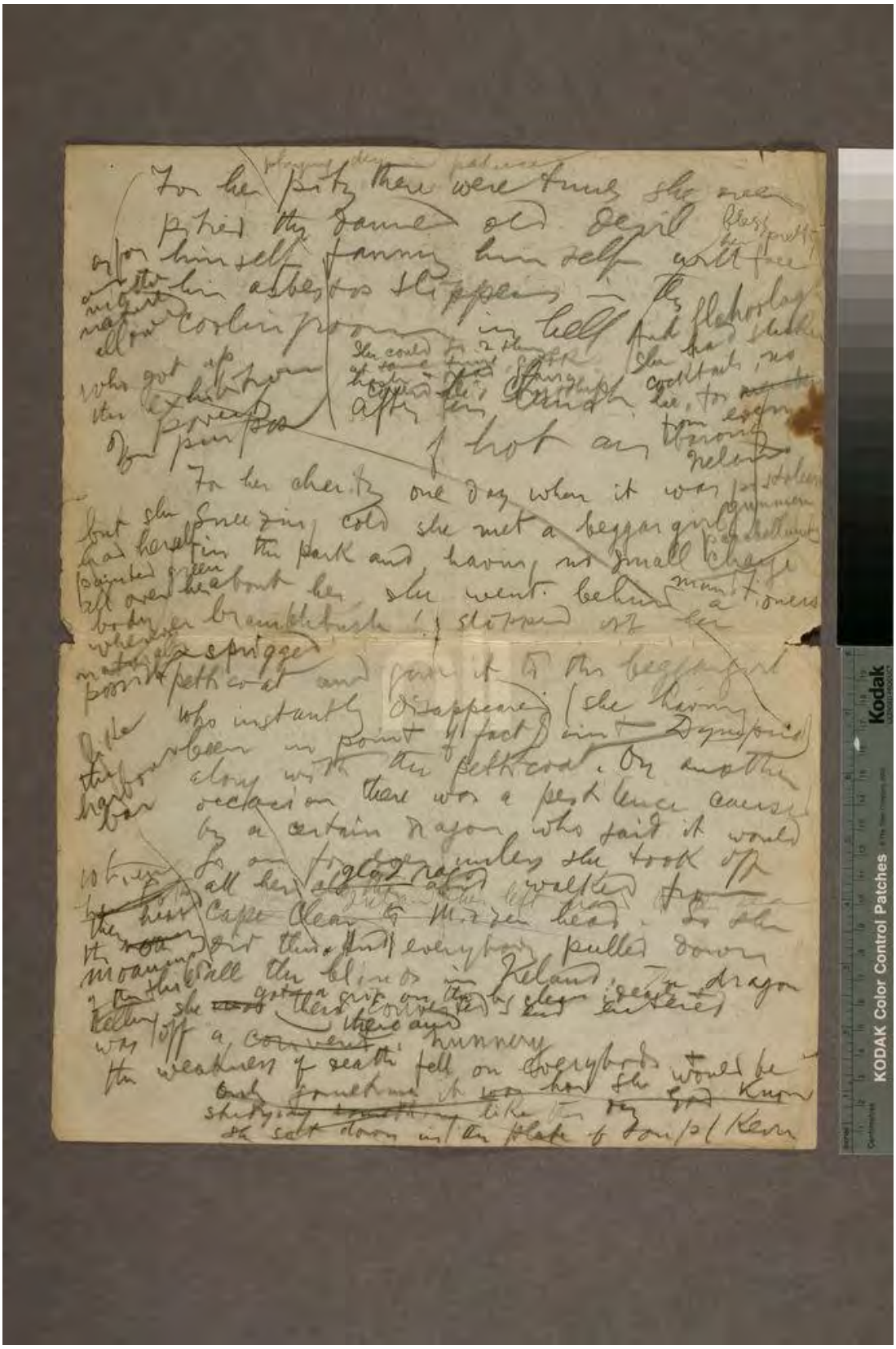
(188.23-4)	Sodom and Gomorrah, under the pretext that their self-will would be broken down, their fear of sin and humility increased, and that they would be purified by our absolutions' (p. 31)
'I shall shiver for my purity while they weepbig for your sins' (188.24-5)	'They will indignantly rebuke you as a slanderer if you say anything to lead them to suppose that you fear for their purity, when they hear the confessions of girls or married women!' (p. 82)
'Away with covered words' (188.25)	'he made a criminal proposition, which I accepted with covered words also' (p. 35)
'new Solemonities for old Badsheetbaths!' (18825-6)	'the unchaste unveiling of the new Bathsheba?' (p. 28)
'accomplished women, indeed fully educanded, far from being old and rich behind their dream of arrivisme, if they have only their honour left, and not deterred by bad weather when consumed by amorous passion, struggling to possess themselves of your boosh' (189.14-8)	'A young educanda was in the habit of going down, every night, to the convent burying-place, where, by a corridor which communicated with the vestry, she entered into a colloquy with a young priest attached to the church. Consumed by an amorous passion, she was not deterred by bad weather or the fear of being discovered' (p. 71)
'*solus cum sola sive cuncties cum omnibobs*' (189.19)	'But we challenge the most devoted modern priest of Rome to find a single line in all the letters of St. Jerome in favor of auricular confession. In his admirable letter to the Priest Nepotianus, on the life of priests, vol. II., p. 203, when speaking of the relations, of priests with women, he says: "*Solus cum sola, secreto et absque arbitrio, vel teste, non sedeas. Si familiarius est aliquid loquendum, habet nutricem. majorem domus, virginem,*

	viduam, vel mari tatam; non est tam inhumana ut nullum praeter te habeat cui se audeat credere." "Never sit in secret, alone, in a retired place, with a female who is alone with you"' (pp. 228-9)
'debituary vases or vessels preposterous' (189.21)	'*imo ut non servetur debitum vas, sed copula habeatur in vase praepostero, aliquoque non naturali. Si fiat*' (p. 290)
'our handsome young spiritual physician' (191.16)	'her handsome young spiritual physician' (p. 87)

Appendix B

The ‘Young Issy’ Sketch





Transcription (simplified)

[Recto]

For her prudence she always left the key of her press in the lock of her press the pen of the ink bottle in the neck of the ink bottle
Never were they lost for her learnings in geog she knew that Italy was a jackboot
and she could make an image of New Zealand N + S island
herself
India a pink ham + France a patched quilt. For her charm she knew how to stagemanage
In nude stockings
her legs^ in the several positions of goody twoshoes
aunty Nance, stepladder, green peas,
love me little, funny toast, lovers lever
love me long for her health only
her in the house got the measles +
when she was a bottlefed babe
For her piety bede every day [????]
Isolde's night ~~prayer~~ orison
Romped her one her
So ~~ran~~: little ^prayer
—Howfar wartnerin alibithename
kingcome illbedone nerth tisueriu. Usisday
daybread givesdressp sweegivethem dresspss
2 potatoes
gainstus leesnot ^~~tootutation~~ livessun
God she had a bit of go in
her God she had.
For her learning in zoog she
knew lamb, lamb a young sheep
for her domestic economy she cleaned the chimey ~~flue~~ by setting fire to an
Irish Times and hooshing it blasy up the flue and she washed the [????]
by standing leaving her wet umbrella

[????] open in a corner & in [????]
galoshes

[Verso]

For her pity there were times she even
pitied the damned old devil
bless her pretty face
himself fanning himself with
his asbestos slippers in the
coolin room in hell
She could do 2 things
at same time, cook
hash & read strange
[????]
of hot air

For her charity one day when it was pistoleers
Sneezim cold she met a beggar girl
in the park and having no small ~~change~~
about her she went behind a
bramblebush & slipped off her
petticoat and gave it to the beggargirl
who instantly disappeared (she having
been in point of fact Saint Dymphna)
along with the petticoat. On another
occasion there was a pestilence caused
by a certain dragon who said it would
go on for ever unless she took off
glad rags
all her ^~~clothes~~ and walked from
Ireland her left hand to the sea
Cape Clear^ to Mizzen head. So she
did this. And everybody pulled down
all the blinds in Ireland. The dragon
got a grip on the big clean ideal &
^then converted and entered
there and
a ~~convent~~ nunnery

Appendix C: The Incorporation of Catholic Imagery into Chapter I.8

For ease of reference, alongside the first emanation of each allusion I have included, where it remains clearly present, the allusion as it appears in the 1939 edition. For the purposes of clarity and consistency my transcription adopts many of the conventions employed by Hayman in his *First Draft Version*: the 'body text' of a given manuscript is rendered in plain type, additions in italics and substitutions in boldface; Joyce's cancellations are struck through; additions within additions are placed in square brackets, and substitutions within additions in emboldened italics; unaccounted for gaps are marked with '□', illegible words with '†', and illegible words that have been cancelled with '~~†~~'.

Allusion as is it first appears	Faber 1939 version	Stage of revision at which incorporated	Approximate date	Manuscript reference (All British Library unless otherwise stated)	Notes
Ah, go to God!		First pencil draft	February 1924	47471b, 74 (*JJA* 48:3)	
Ah, go to God, is it Anna Livia? As God is my judge.	Anna Liv? As chalk is my judge! (200.16-7)	" "	" "	47471b, 74 & 5 (*JJA* 48:3 & 5)	
[[*By earth and heaven but*] *I want a* ~~*new*~~ ***brandnew*** *backside badly, bedad,* [*and*] *I do,* [and a plump one **plumper** *at that.*]	*By earth end the cloudy but I badly want a brandnew bankside, bedamp and I do, and a plumper at that!* (201.5-6)	" "	" "	47471b-74v (*JJA* 48:4)	
God only knows.	Close only knows. (201.28)	" "	" "	47471b, 75 (*JJA* 48:5)	
~~There was a holy hermit~~		" "	" "	47471b, 76	

				(*JJA* 48:7)	
plunged both of his blessed *hands up to his wrists* in her flowing hair	plunged both of his newly anointed hands, the core of his cushlas, in her singimari saffron strumans of hair (203.23-4)	" "	" "	" "	
O wasn't he the bold priest! O wasn't she the naughty Livia?	O, wasn't he the bold priest? And wasn't she the naughty Livvy? (203.4-5)	" "	" "	" "	
I'd give my chance of going to heaven to hear it all, every word.	I'd pledge my chanza getting to heaven through Tirry and Killy's mount of impiety to hear it all, aviary word! (206.18-20)	" "	" "	47471b, 75v (*JJA* 48:6)	
he had to forget the monk in the man	he had to forget the monk in the man (203.33-4)	Second pencil draft	February 1924	47471b, 82v (*JJA* 48:22)	
Sideslipped out ~~by~~ a gap *in the devil's glen*	sideslipped out by a gap in the Devil's glen (204.14)	" "	" "	47471b, 83v & 84 (*JJA* 48:24 & 25)	
By the holy well of Mulhuddar I swear	By the holy well of Mulhuddart I swear (206.18)	" "	" "	47471b, 84v (*JJA* 48:26)	The addition here appears to read 'Mulhuddar', but has changed to 'Mulhuddart' at the next draft level
[the] holy ashes here till I finish the canon's	Lynd us your blessed ashes here till I scrub the canon's	" "	" "	" "	

~~[-]~~ *pants*	underpants. (206.26-7)				
hellsbells	Hellsbells (208.27)	" "	" "	47471b, 87 (*JJA* 48:31)	
the flag of the saints & stripes for Kevineen O'Dea	a papar flag of the saints and stripes for Kevineen O'Dea (210.13-4)	" "	" "	47471b, 88 (*JJA* 48:33)	A very preliminary list of gift recipients can be found on MS 47471 b, 76v and 77v (the verso pages of the end of the first draft version) but they can be first seen in a substantial form here in the second draft.
oakwood beads for Holy Biddy	scruboak beads for beatified Biddy (210.29)	" "	" "	47471b, 87v (*JJA* 48:32)	
A prodigal heart in fatted halves ~~*in*~~ ***for*** *Buck Jones, the* ***boy of*** *Clonliff* ~~*boy*~~	a prodigal heart and fatted calves for Buck Jones (210.17)	" "	" "	" "	
[*a cross & a pile for Lucky Joe:*]		" "	" "	" "	
~~The~~ ~~O~~ **Ho** Lord. Twins of his chest. ~~The~~ ~~The~~ ~~O~~ **Ho** Lord save us!	Ho, Lord ! Twins of his bosom. Lord save us! (215.28-9)	" "	" "	47471b, 89 (*JJA* 48:35)	
What am I rinsing now and I'll thank you? Is it a pinny or is it a surplice? Rinse it out and run along with you.	What am I rancing now and I'll thank you? Is it a pinny or is it a surplice? (204.30-1)	Ink fair copy	February 1924	47474-120 (*JJA* 48:45)	
A haircut and clackdish for Penceless Peter:	a hairclip and clackdish for Penceless Peter (210.22)	" "	" "	47474-121 (*JJA* 48:49)	

And I'll tie my butcher's apron here. Six shifts, ten kerchiefs, the convent napkins twelve, one baby's shawl.	And I'll tie my butcher's apron here. It's suety yet. The strollers will pass it by. Six shifts, ten kerchiefs, nine to hold to the fire and this for the code, the convent napkins, twelve, one baby's shawl. Good mother Jossiph knows, she said. (213.26-9)	" "	" "	47474-122 (*JJA* 48:50)	
*And one of Biddy's beads ~~was~~ **went** ~~rolling~~ **bobbing** lonesome till she stuck last Friday week in a drain off Bachelor's Walk.*	And one of Biddy's beads went bobbing till she rounded up lost histereve with a marigold and a cobbler's candle in a side strain of a main drain of a manzinahurries off Bachelor's Walk. (213.36-214.3)	" "	" "	" "	
with a marigold and a cobbler's candle	See above	Redrafted fair copy	February 1924	47474-117 (*JJA* 48:56)	C.K. Ogden's notes for the 'Anna Livia Plurabelle' record (which Joyce appears to have collaborated on) gives for this phrase 'A waxlight and a flower of gold. Signs of a person being given a high place in the church after death'.

She can't remember half *of* the *cradle* names she ~~put~~ **smacked** on them, *by the grace of* [*her boxing bishop's*] *infallible slipper*.	We won't have room in the kirkeyaard. She can't remember all of the cradlenames she smacked on them by the grace of her boxing bishop's infallible slipper (201.31-3)	Typescript (incomplete)	February-March 1924	47474-128 (*JJA* 48:62)	Cf. NB VI.B.16.025: 'infallible slipper / Adrian IV **Δ'**
*O, may the devil twist ~~her~~ **your** safety pin!*	O, may the diabolo twisk your seifety pin! (205.10)	" "	" "	47474-129v (*JJA* 48:64)	
: a drowned doll for Sister Anne :	a drowned doll, to face downwards for modest Sister Anne Mortimer (210.23-4)	" "	" "	47474-133v (*JJA* 48:68)	
a Robinson Crusoe Friday fast for Patrick Angelus Rubinstein :	a Rogerson Crusoe's Friday fast for Caducus Angelus Rubiconstein (211.16-7)	" "	" "	47474-134v (*JJA* 48:70)	
*He married his markets, ~~near and far,~~ **,cheap by foul,** I know, but at milking ~~time~~ **mass** who was the spouse?*	He married his markets, cheap by foul, I know (215.19)	" "	" "	47474-138 (*JJA* 48:71)	
For God [*sic*] *sake and is that what she is?*	For coxyt sake and is that what she is? (198.22)	Retyped version of missing pages	March 1924	47474-125 (*JJA* 48:75)	

Mary Xavier Agnes *Daisy* Francis de Sales MacCabe?	Marie Xavier Agnes Daisy Frances de Sales Macleay? (212.14-5)	" "	" "	47474-135 (*JJA* 48:79)	Joyce here added simply 'Daisy' to create the pun on *Agnus Dei*. The existing phrase did already have a distinctly Irish Catholic ring to it, but the religious imagery is not quite so explicit without the addition of this phrase.
a dynamite egg for Paul the Curate	a niester egg with a twicedated shell and a dynamight right for Pavl the Curate (210.35-6)	" "	" "	47474-135 (*JJA* 48:79)	This allusion is first present at this stage as part of the body text of the typescript. The document onto which it must have been added appears to be missing.
Beyond Brendan's sea	beyond Brendan's herring pool (213.35-6)	" "	" "	47474-136 (*JJA* 48:80)	
Holy Saint Wolstan!	Holy Scamander (214.30)	" "	" "	47474-137 (*JJA* 48:81)	This allusion is first present at this stage as part of the body text of the typescript. The document onto which it must have been added appears to be missing.
And then she'd try to ~~fistle~~ **vistule** a ~~tune~~ **hymn**, The Heart Bowed Down or The Rakes of Mallow.	And then she'd esk to vistule a hymn, *The Heart Bowed Down* or *The Rakes of Mallow* or Chelli	Second typescript	June 1925	47474-160-146 (*JJA* 48:85-6)	N.B. This is the point at which the addition of global river names begins in

	Michele's *La Calumnia è un Vermicelli* or a balfy bit ov *old Jo Robidson.* (199.27-9)				earnest
Is that a ~~fact?~~ **faith?**	Is that a faith? (199.33)	" "	" "	47474-146 (*JJA* 48:86)	
And they crowned her the queen of the may, of the may?	And they crowned her their chariton queen, all the maids. Of the may?	" "	" "	47474-162 (*JJA* 48:93)	
: a snake in clover [*and a vaticanned vipercatcher's visa*] *for Patsy Presbys :*	snakes in clover, picked and scotched, and a vaticanned viper catcher's visa for Patsy Presbys (210.26-7)	" "	" "	47474-163 (*JJA* 48:94)	
*: a change of na~~mv~~es and ~~a choice~~ **joys** of ills for Armoricus Tristram* [*Amoor*] *Saint La~~rynx~~ **wrence** :*	a change of naves and joys of ills for Armoricus Tristram Amoor Saint Lawrence (211.25-6)	" "	" "	47474-164 (*JJA* 48:95)	
*And tickle ~~him~~ **the pontiff** easy*	and tickle the pontiff aisy-oisy? (198.12)	Third typescript	July 1925	47474-145 (*JJA* 48:102)	
A C_3 peduncle for Karmalite Kane :	a C3 peduncle for Karmalite Kane (211.29-30)	" "	" "	47474-155 (*JJA* 48:112)	
peats be with them!	(peats be with them!) (202.30)	Duplicate (carbon) of above typescript separately revised	July 1925	47474-173 (*JJA* 48:123)	
*Was her banns ~~ever~~ **never** loosened in Adam and Eve's and*	Was her banns never loosened in Adam and Eve's or were him and her but captain spliced? (197.11-3)	Marked pages of *Le Navire d'argent* for the printer of *transition* 8	September-October 1927	Yale 6.1-61 (*JJA* 48:174)	This manuscript is particularly noteworthy because it contains such a high number of specific

					references to nineteenth century culture. A number of these have a distinctly English and/or Protestant frame of reference, hence they are not included in this table but discussed below.
to peer was Parish worth the mess.	to peer was Parish worth thette mess. (199.8-9)	" "	" "	Yale 6.1-62 (*JJA* 48:175)	
queen of queens		" "	" "	Yale 6.1-63 (*JJA* 48:176)	
Then doing the ~~grand~~ ricka in a period gown of changeable jade that would clothe the wood of two cardinals' chairs and crush poor Cullen and smother MacCabe.	— in a period gown of changeable jade that would robe the wood of two cardinals' chairs and crush poor Cullen and smother MacCabe. (200.1-4)	" "	" "	" "	
You child of Mammon, Kinsella's Lilith!	You child of Mammon, Kinsella's Lilith! (205.10-1)	" "	" "	Yale 6.1-66 (*JJA* 48:179)	
For evil and ever.	For evil and ever. (210.6)	" "	" "	Yale 6.1-70 (*JJA* 48:183)	
a glory be and spare me days for Brian the Bravo :	a praises be and spare me days for Brian-the Bravo (211.6-7)	" "	" "	" "	
Ireland sober is Ireland stiff. Your — prayers —	Ireland sober is Ireland stiff Lord help you, Maria, full of grease, the load is with me! Your prayers	" "	" "	Yale 6.1-73 (*JJA* 48:186)	

	(214.18-9)				
Father of Otters, it is himself!	Father of Otters, it is himself! (214.12)	" "	" "	" "	
like any ~~old~~ Etrurian Catholic Heathen,.	like any Etrurian Catholic Heathen (215.19-20)	" "	" "	" "	
Havemmarea	Havemmarea (198.8)	Galley proofs for *transition* 8	October 1927	47474-211 (*JJA* 48:191)	
O happy fault! Me wish it was he!	O happy fault! Me wish it was he! (202.34)	" "	" "	47474-214 (*JJA* 48:194)	
Maass!	Maass! (203.31)	" "	" "	47474-215 (*JJA* 48:195)	
***~~By~~ Par** the ~~blessed~~ **Vulnerable Virgins'** Mary del Dam □ !*	Par the Vulnerable Virgin's Mary del Dame! (206.6-7)	" "	" "	47474-217v (*JJA* 48:197)	
Oceans of God, I mussel hear that!	Oceans of Gaud, I mosel hear that! (207.23)	" "	" "	47474-219v (*JJA* 48:198)	
plenty of pity with lashings of lust for Lona Lena Magdalena :	penteplenty of pity with lubilashings of lust for Olona Lena Magdalena (211.7-8)	" "	" "	47474-221 (*JJA* 48:201)	
*, altar falls for ~~Blanche's bed~~ **Blanchisse's bed ;***	altar falls for Blanchisse's bed (210.24-5)	" "	" "	" "	
For Seumas, thought little, a crown he feels big ;	for Seumas, thought little, a crown he feels big (211.4)	" "	" "	" "	
; a Miss pro Messa for Taff de Taff ;	a Missa pro Messa for	" "	" "	" "	

	Taff de Taff (211.14-5)				
In kingdome gone on power ┼┤ ***to*** *come or gloria be to them farther?*	In kingdome gone or power to come or gloria be to them farther? (213.31-2)	" "	" "	47474-223 (*JJA* 48:203)	
Godavari vert the showers. And grant of thy grace. Amam!	Godavari, vert the showers! (213.20)	" "	" "	" "	
Seints of light!	Seints of light (214.31)	" "	" "	47474-224 (*JJA* 48:204)	
Baptiste me, father, for she has sinned!	Baptiste me, father, for she has sinned! (204.36)	Page proofs for *transition* 8	October-November 1927	47474-235 (*JJA* 48:210)	
duddurty devil!	duddurty devil! (196.15)	Marked pages of *transition* 8 for the Crosby Gaige edition of *Anna Livia Plurabelle*	Late 1927-January 1928	Yale 7.7-17 (*JJA* 48:218)	
You'd like the coifs and guimpes, snouty, and me to do the greasy ┼┤ ***job*** *on old Veronica's wiper.*	You'd like the coifs and guimpes, snouty, and me to do the greasy jub on old Veronica's wipers. (204.29-30)	" "	" "	Yale 7.7-25 (*JJA* 48:222)	
Laudesnarers	Laudsnarers (208.12)	" "	" "		
Merced mulde!	Merced mulde! (212.26)	" "	" "	Yale 7.7-32 (*JJA* 48:226)	
Orara poor Orbe and poor Las Onimas. Issa, Ulla, we're umbas all!	Orara por Orbe and poor Las Animas! Ussa, Ulla, we're umbas all! (214.6-7)	" "	" "	Yale 7.7-33 (*JJA* 48:226)	
By that Vale Vowclose's lucydlac, the	By that Vale Vowclose's	Galley sheets	February-May	47474-263	

reignbeau's heavenarches ar~~a~~onged ***oranged*** *her. Afrothdizzying ~~gab~~ galbs, her enamelled eyes indergoading him on to the vierge violetian. Wish a wish! Why a why? Mavro! Letty Lerck's lafing light throw those laurels now on her daphdaph teasesong petrock*	lucydlac, the reignbeau's heavenarches arronged orranged her. Afrothdizzying galbs, her enamelled eyes indergoading him on to the vierge violetian. Wish a wish! Why a why? Mavro ! Letty Lerck's lafing light throw those laurals now on her daphdaph teasesong petrock. (203.26-31)	(second set) for the Crosby Gaige edition of *Anna Livia Plurabelle*	1928	(*JJA* 48:259)	
The Belvedarean exhibitioners :	The Belvedarean exhibitioners. (205.5)	" "	" "	47474-264 (*JJA* 48:260)	
And Concepta de Send-us-pray!	And Concepta de Send-us-pray! (213.19)	" "	" "	47474-270 (*JJA* 48:266)	
Lord help you, Maria, full of grease, the load is with me!	See above ('Ireland sober is Ireland stiff…')	" "	" "	47474-271 (*JJA* 48: 267)	
, marthared mary allacook,	marthared mary allacook (214.23)	" "	" "	" "	
Grandfarthring Nap and Messamisery	Grandfarthring Nap and Messamisery (202.2-3)	Galley sheets (second set, duplicates) for the Crosby Gaige *ALP*.	Revised late May to early June 1928	Yale 7.2-D18 (*JJA* 48: 288)	
~~Fine~~ Peeled *~~was her gleaming~~* ***of waxwork*** *her jellybelly and her grains of incense anguille bronze.*	Peeld gold of waxwork her jellybelly and her grains of incense anguille bronze. (206.36-207.1)	" "	" "	Yale 7.2-D21 (*JJA* 48:291)	

Letting on she didn't care, *sina feza, me absantee, him man in passession*, the proxenete!	Letting on she didn't care, sina feza, me absantee, him man in passession, the proxenete! (198.16-17)	Galley proofs for the Faber *Finnegans Wake*	Probably early 1938	47476b-412v and 413 (*JJA* 49:252 and 253)	